



ART. VIII.—*Chronological History of the West Indies.* By Capt. Thomas Southey, Commander, Royal Navy. 3 vols. 1827.

THIS is the unpretending work of a seaman, collected, as he tells us, 'out of authors both ancient and modern, with great care and diligence,' and arranged in the manner best suited to so broken a subject—the plan comprehending 'the whole of the Columbian islands; for, as they belong to different European powers, and as some even of those, which are subject to the same crown, have little or no connexion with each other, there is no other natural or convenient order, wherein their history can be composed, than that which a chronological series offers.' They are chronicles which, it might be thought, neither Spaniard, nor French, nor Englishman, could contemplate without some emotions of shame for his country, and humiliation for his kind: so much violence, so much cruelty, so much injustice are recorded there, with so little to relieve the melancholy register. Were the history of Spain, and France, and Great Britain to perish, as that of the great early monarchies of the world has perished, and only these colonial annals, for these three centuries which have elapsed since the discovery of the islands, to be saved from the wreck, what opinion could posterity form of the three nations, as to the degree of civilization which they had attained, their policy, their religion, and their arts! But, however little there may be to ennoble this portion of history, the subject is not without an interest of its own, and more especially at this time.

The discovery of America was an event of which the great importance was immediately apprehended. A new world was opened to imagination and enterprise; the ambitious looked thither to the conquest of kingdoms, and the rapacious to their plunder; science, imperfect as it was, had its votaries then as well as now, who cheerfully encountered any difficulties and dangers in the pursuit of knowledge; and if, among the ministers of religion, there were some who made their profession a cloak for cupidity and cruelty, there were others who went and laboured faithfully in the Lord's vineyard, with a Christian temper and a Christian heroism which might more than compensate for the errors of their corrupted faith. Thoughtful men who, from their quiet studies, regarded the affairs of the world with a deeper interest than is felt by those that are actively engaged in it, were moved to tears* when they looked to the indefinite prospects that seemed opening upon mankind.

* Peter Martyr, writing to Pomponius Lætus, says: '*Præ lætitiâ prosilisse te, virque à lachrymis præ gaudio temperasse, quando literas adspexisti meas, quibus de antipodum*
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kind. Indefinite they might well appear, for it was a world of wonders that had been found, where veteran soldiers went in search of a fountain which should restore them to youth, and Columbus himself believed that he had approached the terrestrial paradise—that the body of fresh water in which he found himself, when in the Bocas del Dragon, came from the garden of Eden (the river Pison, he would suppose it to be, ‘which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold, and the gold of that land is good’); and, although he despaired of ascending so high, was perhaps not without a hope that he might come within sight of the cherubim’s flaming sword.

A very able and eloquent writer,* whose work we have already recommended to the notice of our readers, has recently argued, that the ‘work of planting the nations was not performed when the earth was full of inhabitants, but, on the contrary, when it was a comparative void; not by nations whose numbers were the greatest, but the fewest and most scattered: in ages of ignorance or in times of strife and oppression; and that, as the population of the different nations has increased, the necessity of these wanderings has diminished.’ There is some confusion here, both with regard to Scriptural and later history. It is true that the earth was comparatively a void, when it was divided in the days of Peleg; but that was not an age of ignorance, for primal truths retained the freshness of their impress upon the heart of man, and the righteous lived in the light and sunshine of a visible dispensation. ‘The visible characters of this great book of nature,’ says Jackson of Newcastle, ‘were of old more legible, the external significations of Divine Power more sensible and apter to imprint their meaning—both purposely fitted to the disposition of the world’s non-age.’ And, in later times, the author seems not to distinguish between the migratory movements of barbarian hordes, or armed nations, and the colonial settlements of civilized states. Whether Egypt sent out colonies to India, or was itself colonized from thence, is a question which there seems little hope that M. Champollion or Dr. Young will be enabled to decide; but, in either case, the colonizers were not an ignorant race. In a later age, when the history of colonization begins, colonies

orbe intenti hactenus, te certiorē feci, mi suāvisime Pomponi, insinuasti. Ex tuis ipse literis colligo quod senseris. Sennisti autem, tantique rem fecisti, quanti virum summā doctrinā insignitum decuit. Quis namque cibus sublimibus præstari potest ingenis isto suavior? quod condimentum gratius? à me facio conjecturam. Beari sentio spiritus meos, quando accitos alloquor prudentes aliquos ex his qui ab eā redeunt provinciā. Implicent animos pecuniarum cumulis augendis miseri avari; libidimbus obsceni; nostras nos mentes, postquam Deo pleni aliquandiu fuerimus, contemplando, hujuscemodi rerum notitiā demulceamus.—Epist. clii.

* Mr. Sadler, in his treatise upon ‘Ireland: its Evils and their Remedies,’

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are found, as might be expected, to have proceeded from the most flourishing, and enterprising, and intelligent people—the Phœnicians and the Greeks. So, too, when the appointed time for the discovery of America was come, it was not by Scandinavian or Norman sea-rovers that the way was opened, but by the Spaniards, in the age of their greatest prosperity and highest civilization—the only people in whom heart, and will, and power, could have been found for the work which was to be done, and during the only age in which they were thus qualified, by their virtues, their vices, and their political station.

No person, who contemplates history with a religious mind, can fail to remark the striking resemblance between the condition of the more civilized American nations at the time of the discovery, and of the Canaanites when, in like manner, the measure of their iniquities was full. The enormities to which the Spaniards put an end in Mexico, and those other states wherein the Aztec mythology prevailed, were such, that even the victories of Cortes may be regarded, with complacency, as a dispensation of mercy to the people themselves. The superstitions which existed in the hierarchical despotisms of South America were not, at first sight, so revolting to humanity, because they did not exhibit a regular course of human butchery upon so extensive a scale; but there was the same root of evil there, bringing forth fruits of death. Systems as degrading to human nature as those of the great Asiatic kingdoms had been firmly established there, and were rapidly increasing in extent and power; and all these were connected with schemes of priestcraft more or less inhuman. And throughout the whole continent, in every grade of society, from the rudest tribes on the Orinoco to the highly artificial fabrics of polity under the Zippas, the Zaques, and the Incas, such abominations were practised, not as acts of individual wickedness, but as belonging to the laws or customs of the people and of the state, that even the Quesadas and the Pizarros appear, when these things are considered, to have been ministers of divine justice, while they themselves were monsters of cruelty, deserving the execration of mankind. This is no extenuation of their guilt. As regards human suffering, the remedy, while it continued, was worse than the disease; the tyranny which they substituted was more cruel than that which they subverted—it inflicted wider misery, and implied a greater degree of guilt in the agents; for they sinned against knowledge. Long ere this, indeed, the good would have immeasurably preponderated, if, in the great struggle between good and evil at the time of the Reformation, Spain had chosen the better part. But from the time when its civil and religious liberties were destroyed, the root of its strength began to decay, and the canker was felt in the remotest ramifications.

There are some historians (M. Guizot may be instanced as the ablest of the class) who carry the influence of general causes too far, considering men as entirely the creatures of the circumstances wherein they are placed, and regarding them rather as the puppets of a fatal necessity, than as accountable beings, to whom it has been free to choose between good and evil. Hopeless, as well as helpless, would be the condition of humanity if this were true; and one consequence of a philosophy as false as it is injurious, would be to render history useless for all purposes of example. But blessings and curses are set before us, and nations, like individuals, are judged according to their ways.

In the first age of their colonial history, the Spaniards appear in their worst character, and the Spanish government in its best. Neither good intentions, nor good laws, were wanting on its part: both were frustrated by the rapacity of its agents, and by its own insane pretensions to universal dominion—a scheme in which, for half a century, it was zealously seconded by the most active, most influential, most intriguing, and most mischievous order of men in the Romish church. They served it thus, because it was to the shaven and shorn head, and the triple crown, as much as to Castille and Leon, that Columbus had given a new world. When he said to the Catholic kings that there could not be a richer country, nor a more cowardly people than he had discovered for them, and that they were as much masters of it as they were of Xeres or Toledo, and that the fountain of gold was there, he told them that, whoever had gold might do with it whatever he wished in this world, and open with it the gates of Paradise in the other: *—a passage which the modern editor of his papers assures us, is in conformity with many texts of Scripture. This most rich empire of the Indies, God, says Oviedo, had reserved for our fortunate emperor Charles V., that its wealth might be employed in his Catholic designs and armies, and that his holy intentions and aims against infidels and heretics might be carried into effect; and that the flag of Spain might be celebrated for the most victorious, respected for the most glorious, feared for the most powerful, and loved as the most worthy to be loved in the universe.

* Such power and majesty in any Christian prince as is now manifest in him, has never till now been seen under heaven. And, therefore, it is to be expected that, in a short time, we shall see brought under the sceptre of our Cæsar all that is wanting for attaining to the height of universal monarchy. And that there shall be no kingdom, nor sect, nor kind of false belief, which will not be humbled, and brought under obedience to his yoke. And I say not this concerning unbelievers only,

* *El oro es excelentísimo; del oro se hace tesoro; y con el quien lo tiene, hace quanto quiere en el mundo, y llega á que echa las animas al paraíso.* Navarrete, Colección de los Viajes, l. 309.

but of those also who call themselves Christians, for they will not refuse to acknowledge our Cæsar for their superior, as they ought, and as God has ordained, seeing that he has valiant soldiers and people in abundance, and wealth enough to distribute among them.'

Acting upon these pretensions, the Spaniards brought a host of enemies against the colonies, and weakened their hold upon the New World by extending it. In consequence of the latter cause, the decline of their first colony was as rapid as its progress had been.

Next to the paramount object of introducing the Romish faith, the government was intent upon establishing in the colonies, without delay, the laws and municipal institutions of the mother country. When a city was to be founded, the first form prescribed was, with all solemnity, to erect a gallows, as the first thing needful; and, in laying out the ground, a site was marked for the prison as well as for the church. Ample provision was made for churches and convents; and monks and friars, in the first age of the conquests, were some of the best colonists who could be sent out, going to take up their permanent abode there, and, therefore, making more provision for future comfort, than those who were looking eagerly to return with their wealth to Europe. It is surprising how soon St. Domingo was stocked with European animals, and with produce designed for the European market.

'In what land,' says Oviedo, 'has it ever been known or heard of, that in so short a time, and in countries so distant from our Europe, so many cattle, and so many goods of the earth, should be produced, and in such great abundance, as we with our own eyes have seen in these Indies, brought hither over such wide seas? The which this land hath not received as a stepmother, but even more like a true mother than that which sent them forth; for some of them are produced in greater quantities, and of better kind, than in Spain itself, as well animals useful for the service of man, as corn and pulse, and fruits and sugar, and canafistola. The beginning of these things came from Spain in my days; and, in a little time, they have multiplied so greatly, that ships return to Europe laden with sugar, and canafistola, and hides.'

This led him to observe, seeing the natural advantages of the country, that a king of Hispaniola might soon have greatly the advantage over a king of Sicily or of England! The first cargoes that the ships carried back to Spain consisted of sugar. In the year 1535, there had been, within three and twenty years, twenty eight sugar mills erected, exceeding any thing that was then known of the kind in 'any island or kingdom, whether of Christians or unbelievers.' The cane was introduced from the Canaries, whither the Spaniards had carried it, probably from their own country, for it was cultivated in Granada and Valencia. The Canaries contributed not a little to the discovery of the West Indies in the first instance,

instance, and afterwards to their settlement. The plantain was taken to St. Domingo from thence in 1516, by Fr. Tomas de Berlanga, a Dominican; and it was found of such great utility, that it was soon cultivated upon every Spanish property. Berlanga is said to have been an excellent man; and, for his merits, was made Bishop of Castilla del Oro, without having solicited, or expected, and perhaps, also, without desiring, any such promotion.

The Spaniards also introduced some Indian plants into their own country. Indian corn was raised near Madrid, and in many parts of Andalusia, and a few years after the discovery, potatoes were carried to Spain at first as sweetmeats and delicacies. They were held there, *por muy singular y buena fruta*; and Oviedo says, *de qualquier forma son buena fruta, y se puede presentar a la Catholica Magestad por muy preciado manjar*, which is, being interpreted, that they were a dainty dish to set before the king.

'I take it,' says the physician Monardus, in the words of his old translator, 'for a vittail of much substance, and that they are in the midst between flesh and fruit. Truth it is that they be windy, but that is taken from them by roasting, chiefly if they be put into fine wine. There is made of them conserva very excellent, as marmolade, and small morselles; and they make potages and broths, and cakes of them, very excellent. They are subject that there be made of them any manner of conserva, and any manner of meat. There be so many in Spain, that they bring from Velez Malaga, every year to Seville, ten or twelve caravels laden with them.' *

Having been so successfully cultivated, and, as appears, in considerable request, the question naturally occurs, wherefore so valuable a root should have fallen into disuse in that country; perhaps, because properties were ascribed to it which must have made it forbidden food for certain classes of the community, and disreputable for others. It is amusing to find Labat describing potatoes a hundred years ago, as cultivated in Western Africa, and saying of them, '*Il y en a en Irlande, et en Angleterre,*' and that he had seen very good ones at Rochelle.

'The Spaniards,' says this writer, 'are infinitely more careful than French, and other nations, in planting trees, and in taking care of the them; for it rarely happens, when a Spaniard eats fruit in a wood, or in the open country, that he does not set the stones or the pips; and thus, in the whole of their country, an infinite number of fruit trees, of all kinds, are found, whereas, in the French quarters, you meet with none.'

There is a pleasing example of this practice in the very interesting History of Bernal Diaz; and it is valuable also, because it shows the Mexican priests in their best point of view.

* Joyful News out of the New-found World, translated out of Spanish, by John Frampton. 1577. p. 104.

'I will

'I will relate also,' says this brave and simple-hearted old soldier, 'how I set some orange pips near the idol-houses, (in Grijalva's expedition,) and it was in this manner. Because there were many mosquitoes by that river, I went to sleep in a lofty idol-house; and, by that house, I set seven or eight pips of oranges, which I had brought from Cuba; and they came up well; and it seems that the papas (or priests) of those idols, took care of them, when they perceived that the plants were unlike any of their own, and protected them from the ants, and watered them, and kept the ground clean. I have delivered this to remembrance, in order that it may be known these were the first oranges which were planted in New Spain; for, after Mexico was conquered, and the people subject to Guacacualco were pacificated, this was held to be the best province, and in the best estimation of all in New Spain, by reason of its mines, and for its good port, the land also being rich with gold, and pasture for flocks: and, therefore, it was settled by the principal conquerors of Mexico, and I was one; and then I went for my orange trees, and transplanted them, and they thrive well.'

It is the more remarkable that the Spaniards, who so carefully introduced the products of their own country, and of the Canaries, into the new-found world, should not have attempted to naturalize the American fruits in Spain, because this branch of horticulture was pursued with great ardour at that time, and highly patronized, both in Italy and Flanders, countries with which Spain was closely connected. Ferdinand the First, of Naples, prided himself upon the variety and excellence of the fruit produced in his royal gardens, one of which was called Paradise. Duke Hercules, of Ferrara, had a garden celebrated for its fruits in one of the islands of the Po. The Duke of Milan, Lodovico, carried this kind of luxury so far, that he had a travelling fruit-garden; and the trees were brought to his table, or into his chamber, that he might with his own hands gather the living fruit. The members of our horticultural society have not refined so far as this.

Oviedo extols the pine-apple above all the fruits which grew in these, the famous gardens of his time, and above all that he had tasted in his travels in Spain, France, England, Germany, the whole of Italy, Sicily, the Tyrol, and the whole of the Low Countries.

'No fruit,' says he, 'have I known or seen in all these parts, nor do I think that in the world there is one better than it, or equal to it, in all those points which I shall now mention, and which are, beauty of appearance, sweetness of smell, taste of excellent savour; so that there being three senses out of the five which can be gratified by fruit, such is its excellence above all other fruits or dainties in the world, that it gratifies those three, and even the fourth also; to wit the touch. As for the fifth, that is to say, the hearing, fruit, indeed, can neither hear nor listen, but in its place the reader may hear and attend to what is said

said of this fruit, and he will perceive that I do not deceive myself in what I shall say of it. For albeit fruit can as little be said to possess any of the other four senses, in relation to the which I have, as above, spoken, of these I am to be understood in the exercise and person of him who eats, not of the fruit itself, which hath no life, save the vegetative one, and wants both the sensitive and rational, all three of which exist in man. And he, looking at these pines, and smelling to them, and tasting them, and feeling them, will justly, considering these four parts or particularities, attribute to it the principality above all other fruits.'

This is as whimsical, in its way, as what Christoval Acosta says of the same fruit, in his *Tratado* de las Drogas y Medicinas de las Indias Orientales*; he says, that no medicinal virtues have been discovered in it, and it is good for nothing but to eat. Our countryman, Ligon, expatiates upon this plant with great delight.

'To close up all that can be said of fruits,' he says, 'I must name the pine, for in that single name all that is excellent, in a superlative degree, for beauty and taste, is totally and summarily included; and, if it were here to speak for itself, it would save me much labour, and do itself much right. Nothing of rare taste can be thought on, that is not there, nor is it imaginable that so full a harmony of tastes can be raised out of so many parts, and all distinguishable.'

Then, after describing the plant and its fruit, like a painter whose eye was conversant with forms, and delighted in the colouring of nature, he says,

'When we gather them, we leave some of the stalk to take hold by; and, when we come to eat them, we first cut off the crown, and send that out to be planted; and then, with a knife, pare off the rind, which is so beautiful, as it grieves us to rob the fruit of such an ornament: nor would we do it, but to enjoy the precious substance it contains,—like a thief that breaks a beautiful cabinet, which he would forbear to do, but for the treasure he expects to find within. The rind being taken off, we lay the fruit in a dish, and cut it in slices, half an inch thick; and, as the knife goes in, there issues out of the pores of the fruit, a liquor clear as rock water, near about six spoonfulls, which is eaten with a spoon; and, as you taste it, you find it in a high degree delicious, but so mild, as you can distinguish no taste at all: but when you bite a piece of the fruit, it is so violently sharp as you would think it would fetch all the skin off your mouth; but, before your tongue have made a second trial upon your palate, you shall perceive such a sweetness to follow, as perfectly to cure that vigorous sharpness, and between these two extremes of sharp and sweet, lies the relish and flavour of all fruits that are excellent; and those tastes will change and flow so fast upon your palate, as your fancy can hardly keep way with

* Burgos, 1578.

them to distinguish the one from the other, and that at least to a tenth examination, for so long the echo will last.'

Oviedo was not successful in his attempts to carry this fruit to Spain; and it is related by some other writer, that when one had been brought, with great care, in good condition, to Charles V., the emperor, to the confusion of Oviedo's theory, did not like its looks, or its odour, and would not be persuaded to try its effect upon the palate. This fruit might be raised in the south of Spain, and of Portugal, with as little care as is required in this country for melons and cucumbers; but this has not yet been attempted there. The banana was introduced into Algarve about five and thirty years, by Mr. Lempriere, the English Consul at Faro, at that time. In his *quinta*, near that city, we saw it flourishing, and he expected that its culture would soon become general; but evil days have intervened, and thrown back all improvements of every kind in the ill-fated kingdoms of the peninsula.

But the first fruit that ever found its way from the tropics to Europe was eaten—before the voyage of Columbus, here in England, and on a 'Christmas-day in the morning,' according to Master Olchod. That grave author of odd-looking name has, it appears, related the fact in a treatise upon the sphere—and thus it was: A certain holy man, in this kingdom, had caught a devil, and kept him in durance. In what sort of trap he was taken, and in what sort of cage or prison kept, are points concerning which, curious as they are and worthy of inquiry, no information is given. It appears only that the devil was uneasy in durance, and that being a spirit, a writ of Habeas Corpus could not have delivered him; so he bargained with the holy man, who, holy as he was, had a licorish tooth, and engaged, as the price of his deliverance, to bring him that night, being the night of Cock Mass, fresh figs from the Indies. The holy mouth watered at this proposal; the prisoner was enlarged upon his parole, and keeping it better than General Simon, or General Lefébvre Desnouettes, (for he was an honourable devil,) back he came in what is Hiberno-poetically called, no time at all, with figs fresh from the tree. 'Whereat that holy man greatly marvelled, and meditating upon the great mildness of temperature in the region where that fruit had grown, and comparing it with the rigorous cold which at that time prevailed in England, of which country he was a native, he concluded that a land which was so temperate at that season of the year, must needs be near the terrestrial paradise;'—coming thus to the same conclusion as Columbus.

Tobacco found its way slowly into use in Europe; the intoxicating effect of its smoke must have been accidentally discovered, and

and the same use was made of that discovery as of the deleterious exhalations from the chasm at Delphi. 'As the devil,' says Monardus, 'is a deceiver, and hath the knowledge of the virtue of herbs, so he did show the virtue of this herb, that by the means thereof they might see their imaginations and visions that he hath represented unto them.' But this was not a secret which the priests could keep to themselves; what they did for their craft, the chiefs and people did for their gratification; they smoked to pass away time—to abate pain—to take away the sense of hunger—to refresh themselves after fatigue—and as much, perhaps, as for any or all these reasons, to make themselves drunk withal, and to see visions and things that represent themselves, 'wherein they do delight,'—a sort of intellectual sensualization. The manner of taking the smoke was equally unlike the oriental method, which is the most refined, and that which the Thracians are said to have used, which is the rudest,—for the Thracians threw such seeds and leaves into the fire as produced an intoxicating smoke, and held their heads near enough to inhale the intoxication. In Hayti, a sort of pastil was formed of the leaves; the instrument for inhaling, from which the herb derived its name, was called *tabaco*,—it was made of wood, forked, and tubular, the shape being that of the letter Y; the single end was applied to the burning pastil, the other two inserted up the nostrils, till the smoker was stupified to his heart's desire. The negroes were the first to learn the practice, and they, like the Indians, made plantations of the herb. Their masters, also, took to it, those more especially who were perishing piecemeal under that loathsome disease, which, if they did not find it in the island, assumed there a new and more deadly virulence. They did not feel their misery, they said, while the tobacco affected them; which, as it did not heal them, says Oviedo, I hold for a worse thing than the pain which it suspended. Oviedo had a wholesome and cleanly dislike to the practice; and he reckoned it among the vices of the Indians.

But after Oviedo's time, it appears to have fallen into disuse. The negroes were forbidden to smoke, for some unexplained reason, but probably because it was regarded as intended to produce intoxication, and, therefore, sinful; they were punished if detected in it, and their plantations of the herb were destroyed. Still, however, they smoked in secret places. Perhaps the many and extraordinary medicinal virtues which were ascribed to the herb, and its real utility as a specific (which it seems to have been) against the poison of the Carib arrows, made the Spaniards regard it as having been intended for other purposes than those of mere gratification; for such a feeling was in the spirit of those times. Beckman says, the seeds were brought to Portugal in 1599; this

is probably an error * of the press here, for it obtained its once well-known appellation of the Nicotian herb long before that time, Nicot, the French ambassador at Lisbon, having carried it from Portugal to France in 1561. 'Within these few years,' says Monardus, 'there hath been brought into Spain of it, more to adornate gardens with the fairness thereof, and to give a pleasant sight, than that it was thought to have the marvellous medicinable virtues which it hath; but now we do use it more for his virtues than for his fairness.' He calls it an herb of much antiquity; meaning that its use, or abuse, had been known of old time among the Indians. According to Beckman, it began to be cultivated in the East Indies early in the sixteenth century. But there is a curious fact stated in the very curious travels of Ewlia Effendi; he says, that in cutting through the wall of a Grecian building at Constantinople, built before the birth of Mohammed, a tobacco pipe was found between the stones; it still retained the smell of the smoke, and in the Effendi's opinion, incontestably proved the antiquity of that practice. The translator conjectures upon this, that smoking having at first been prohibited to the Mohammedans as an innovation, and contrary to the principle of their law, the pipe had probably been inserted in the wall by some lover of tobacco, in order to furnish an argument for the antiquity of the custom; and, therefore, of its lawfulness. The probability of this conjecture depends upon the circumstances of the alleged discovery, and of these Ewlia has said nothing; the fact, however, is worthy of notice, though, even if there were no deception in it, it stands singly and unsupported.

The best, and at the same time, the worst anecdote concerning this 'Indian weed,' is what Franklin has related of the Attorney-General Seymour, in William and Mary's reign, who opposed a grant of 2000*l.* for a college in Virginia; and when he was requested to consider that it was to educate young men for the ministry of the Gospel, and that the people of Virginia had souls to be saved as well as the people of England, replied, 'Souls! d—n your souls! make tobacco.' An attorney-general worthy to have been initiated in the modern science of meta-politics, and in that jurisprudence which ought, in honour of its egregious founder, to be called *Jerrysprudence*! worthy also to have delivered lectures to the Utilitarians! 'Tobacco *quasi τω Βαρυω*, Josuah Sylvester calls it, when he thundered his volley of holy shot from Mount Helicon, and shattered the pipes about the ears of those 'that idly idolized so base and barbarous a weed.' In his days

'—Don Tobacco had an ampler reign,
Than Don Philippo, the great king of Spain.'

* In the English translation.

And he himself had once been 'demi-captive to his puffing pride.' He questioned whether the devil had done more harm in latter ages by means of fire and smoke, through the invention of guns, or of tobacco-pipes; and he conjecture that Satan introduced the fashion, as a preparatory course of smoking for those who were to be matriculated in his own college,

'As roguing gipsies tan their little elves,
To make them tann'd and ugly, like themselves.'

Josuah propounds in this poem the query, whether more hurt or good had resulted from the discovery of America: and he delivers his opinion, that both to the new world and to the old the hurt had preponderated. We had taken out vice and brought home disease: the whole returns which he could enumerate were gold, tobacco, scurvie, (first known in the first long voyages,) and another worse evil, the name of which, in his days, was not unrepresentable, 'in prose or rhyme.' Potatoes, which more than balanced the account, had not come into use. Chocolate recommended itself sooner; being found peculiarly convenient on a fast-day, in places where that fine fish, called the Solan Goose, was not procurable. The hammock, also, had probably been by that time adopted on shipboard. Oviedo recommended it for soldiers; and innumerable are the lives which might have been saved, if his advice had received the attention which it merited. Sylvester noticed none of the incommunities which had been introduced from the old world into the new, in the first interchange of good and evil. At the head of the last, small-pox is to be placed. The Europeans carried with them their vermin as well as their vices: rats and mice have been imported wherever ships have touched; the common-fly, which, in many parts of America is one of the greatest pests of man and beast, was carried from Spain to Hispaniola, and so was the cock-roach, which the West Indies have returned to us with increase. But as it was only known in Andalusia at the time of the discovery, it had, probably been brought from some other country by the Moors: the worst importation was that of the negroes.

When the Spaniards introduced a black race into the islands to supply the place of the red people, whom they were extirpating, they prepared the way for all the evils which have arisen from the slave trade, the horrors which have taken place, and the fearful consequences which may yet be apprehended. Las Casas has been inconsiderately condemned upon this score, as if, in his earnest desire of mitigating the sufferings which he witnessed, and rescuing from destruction the poor remnant of the islanders, he acted without foresight, and merely substituted victims of a different colour. But the slave trade was not so nefarious in its
origin

origin as this would represent it. Las Casas was not introducing a new evil; he was accustomed to it in his own country, where it had grown imperceptibly out of the established usages of war. During the long struggle between the Moors and Christians in the peninsula, all prisoners who were unable to ransom themselves became slaves. When the Portuguese first, and the Spaniards afterwards, in pursuit of that hereditary warfare, became invaders in their turn, and assailed the Moors on the opposite coast of Africa, the same system was, of course, observed; and as the Portuguese, in the progress of their discoveries, advanced along the coast of West Africa, the negroes were subjected to the same chance and condition of war. Nicolas Clenard, writing in the lifetime of Las Casas, says, that when he first entered Évora, he could have imagined himself in a city of cacodemons, so great was the number of negroes there; and he describes Lisbon as swarming with slaves. '*Mancipiorum plena sunt omnia. Æthiopes et Mauri captivi omnia obeunt munera, quo genere hominum tam est referta Lusitania, ut credam Ulyssiponæ plures esse hujusmodi servos et servas, quam sint liberi Lusitani.*' There were many menial offices which no white person would condescend to perform; when, therefore, Las Casas proposed that black slaves should be introduced into the islands, he thought it no greater evil to employ them in America than in Europe, where their bondage was not severe; and he might reasonably have expected that, being recognized as property by the laws, and having been purchased by their owners, they would be more considerately treated than the miserable Indians, for whom no price was paid, and in whose death no loss was sustained.

But even if Las Casas had not recommended this substitution, it would certainly have taken place in the natural course of events. No Europeans went out to the conquest to earn a livelihood there as labourers, and in the short space of one generation scarcely any Indians were left. The introduction, in fact, began before it was thought of as a substitution by this enthusiastic but sincere philanthropist. The year after his first voyage to Hispaniola, and within ten years after the discovery, so many negroes had been imported into that island, that any further importation was prohibited at Ovando's solicitation, the danger being evident. It is remarkable how soon that danger was apprehended, how clearly it was perceived, and how distinctly acknowledged; yet the importation was continued, so great was the necessity for labourers: the restrictions were sometimes lessened, and sometimes suspended, or they were eluded. Terrible as the Spaniards every where were to the conquered people, they nowhere appear to have been cruel to their negroes; and even, if the introduction of that

race

race into the islands had been wholly the work of Las Casas, it would be most unreasonable to condemn him for not having foreseen the enormous extension of the slave trade, which the commercial system would one day occasion, and the consequent aggravation of slavery. It should be remembered, too, for his honour in this age, as it so often was for his reproach in his own, that he tried the experiment of establishing a peaceful colony on the main land, taking out husbandmen instead of soldiers. The experiment was ill-planned, ill-placed, and ill-timed; it exposed him to obloquy and derision, but it made him a sadder and a wiser man, and he has left on earth one of those good names which will retain their fragrance through all time. History presents few such, and of all histories that of these islands the fewest.

Captain Southey has resisted the temptation which his subject, in its earlier parts, threw in his way, and when he was led to the very borders of heroic history, has, with commendable self-denial, abstained from passing beyond his prescribed limits. He fits out the expeditions from Hispaniola and Cuba, accompanies them to the main land, and leaves them to pursue their marvellous fortunes, while he keeps to his faithful task as annalist of the islands. The series of events is, for the most part, such as there is little pleasure in tracing; yet amid much that is revolting, much that is bloody, and more that is base, sometimes a romantic incident occurs, sometimes a generous one, to relieve the details, and redeem human nature from the opprobrium to which such a history might otherwise expose it. These are the more valuable, when they relate to men who, if they were judged of by some of their other actions, might be deemed monsters of barbarity. There was a certain Diego de Salazar, among the first conquerors and settlers of the island of Boriquen, now called Puerto Rico; the people of that island were a warlike race; the Caribs, by their frequent invasions, had made them so; and they were a generous race also, of which remarkable proof was given with regard to this Salazar. They had taken a young Spaniard, X Suarez by name, and left him bound hand and foot in one of their dwellings, while a game at ball was played between two parties, to decide which should have the pleasure of slaughtering him, and the honour of giving the feast at which he was to be eaten. An Indian slave had been taken with him, and finding means to escape before the game began, came weeping to Salazar, and lamenting for the fate of his master. Salazar, who is introduced to the reader as a person of good life and conversation, remarkable for strength and courage, and for his devotion to the blessed Virgin, resolved at once singly to adventure his life for the deliverance of the poor youth; though the Indian thought the attempt so desperate, that he refused
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to guide him, till Salazar, by the threat of immediate death, compelled his obedience. To the place accordingly they went, and while the party were eagerly engaged in their game, Salazar entered the dwelling unperceived, cut the cords with which Xuarez was bound, and bidding him follow his example like a man, advanced toward the Indians with sword and buckler, and cut his way through them. They were about three hundred, but they were taken by surprise; the two Spaniards laid on manfully to right and left, smiting them, for 'the love of charity,' with such hearty good-will, that they cleared the way, and presently got to a safe distance on their return. One of the Indian chiefs was badly wounded in this attack, and this man sent messenger to request that Salazar would turn back, because he admired him, and wished to become acquainted with so brave a man, and to do him any pleasure or service in his power. The story would tell well in Homeric times, or in chivalrous romance; for Salazar at once declared that he would accept the invitation. Xuarez, having before his eyes the fear of that dinner, at which he was to have been the principal dish, besought him on his knees, for the love of God, to think better of it, and not to tempt Providence, which had so wonderfully preserved them thus far,—for it was not possible that they could escape if they perilled themselves again, being no more than two against so many. 'Look you, Xuarez,' said Diego de Salazar, 'if it like you not to turn back with me, go your way in good hour, as you can now safely: but I shall go see what these Indians would have with me, for they shall never think that I am afraid of them!' Xuarez was too honourable a youth to forsake the man who had delivered him at such imminent risk of his own life, and, therefore, with better heart than inclination, turned back with him. The chief, whom they found very ill-wounded, inquired Salazar's name, and requested that he might be allowed to take that name himself, in token of esteem and friendship; the permission was readily accorded, and immediately his countrymen saluted him with acclamations by his new name, as if he were at the same time invested with the resolution and good fortune which so remarkably distinguished his namesake. In further pledge and proof of the friendship thus gallantly contracted, the Indian presented him with four slaves, and with ornaments, valuable in Salazar's eyes as well as in his own, gold being the material of which they were made; and then the two Spaniards took their leave and returned in peace.

On which side the greater gallantry was shown in this singular adventure is a question worthy to have been debated between king Meliadus and the good knight *sans peur*, or between Gyron the Courteous and Red Danayn. Yet will it be believed, that
this

this very Diego de Salazar, who adventured his life so generously for a countryman, who is extolled for the general benevolence of his character, and for his especial devotion to the blessed Virgin, should have had no more compunction in setting dogs upon the Indians, to devour them alive, than is felt by huntsmen when the hare is found, and the hounds are laid on! The fact appears incidentally in an anecdote, which may place beast nature in a better point of view than human nature. The hero of the story figures in Captain Southey's history with great propriety among the conquerors of Puerto Rico, for, though only a dog, the full pay of a cross-bowman and half as much more was received by his owner for his services, and he was thought to have done as much towards what is called the *pacification* of that island, as a third of all the Spaniards who were employed in it. Bezerrillo was his name: it is somewhat remarkable, that the most noted dog in history, and the most famous horse should have derived their names, the one from his likeness to a bull, the other to a calf. Bezerrillo was of a reddish colour, with a black face, not large of his kind, nor finely made, 'but of great understanding and courage, and, indeed, what he did was such, that sans doubt the Christians believed God had sent him for their succour.' He would 'select among two hundred Indians one who had escaped from the Christians, or who should have been pointed out to him, and would seize him by the arm, and make him come back with him to the camp, or wherever the Christians might be; and if he attempted to resist, or would not come, he tore him to pieces, and did other things which were very remarkable, and worthy of admiration.' At midnight, if a prisoner got loose, and were a league distant, it was but to say, 'the Indian is gone,' or 'fetch him,' and away Bezerrillo went upon the scent and brought him back. The tame Indians he knew as well as a man could know them, and never did them hurt, and among many tame ones, he could distinguish one wild one. It seemed as if he had the judgment and intelligence of a man, and that not of a foolish one.

Salazar had one day taken an old Indian woman, among other prisoners, after a defeat of the natives, and for no assigned, or assignable reason, but in mere wantonness of cruelty, he determined to set this dog upon the poor wretch. But it was to be made a sport of, a spectacle for the Spaniards, or the Christians, as their contemporary historian and fellow-Christian calls them, even while he is relating this story. The reader will judge what the state of natural and general feeling must have been, when a man of his extraordinary acquirements and talents, and who gives evident proofs in his book of a sincere religious belief, could relate these circumstances, without the slightest expression of horror, and, undoubtedly,

undoubtedly, without the slightest feeling that there was anything unusual, anything unfitting, still less, that there was anything devilish and damnable related. Salazar gave the woman an old letter, and told her to go with it to the governor at Aynaco. The poor creature went her way joyfully, expecting to be set at liberty when she had performed her errand. The intent was merely to get her away from the rest, that the dog might have a fair field, and the beholders a full sight. Accordingly, when she had proceeded little farther than a stone's throw, Bezerrillo was set at her! Hearing him come, the woman threw herself on the ground; and her simple faith in Salazar's intention, and in the animal's sagacity, saved her; for she held out the letter to the dog, and said, 'O sir dog, sir dog! I am carrying a letter to the lord governor—don't hurt me, sir dog.' The dog seemed to understand her; and did understand her, in fact, sufficiently to know that she did not look upon herself as a condemned person, and that she implored his mercy: and he came up to her gently, and did her no harm.*

'The Christians held this for a thing of much mystery, knowing the fierceness of the dog, and the captain, also, seeing the clemency which the dog had shown, ordered him to be tied up; and they called back the poor Indian woman, and she came back to the Christians in dismay, thinking that they had sent the dog to bring her, and trembling with fear, she sate herself down. And after a little while the governor Juan Ponce arrived, and being informed of what had happened, he would not be less compassionate with the woman than the dog had been, and he gave orders that she should be set at liberty, and allowed to go whither she would; and accordingly so it was done.'

Bezerrillo was shot with a poisoned arrow by a Carib, when swimming after an Indian. The Spaniards could not have suffered a greater loss. He left a numerous progeny, who are said to have proved *muy excelentes perros*, and many of them to have imitated him in his great and good qualities. Only one of them obtained a name in history, and this was Leoncico; he was as good a dog as his sire, and received even larger pay, even the double pay of a man at arms; but in this, perhaps, some little favour may have been shown to his master, Vasco Núñez de Balboa, the well-known and ill-requited Spaniard, who first set eyes upon the South Sea. Leoncico's share of booty sometimes amounted to more than five hundred *castellanos*: *pero era muy especial*.

What Bezerrillo was among dogs in the conquest of Puerto

* *El perro se paro como la oyo hablar; y muy manso se llevo a ella, y alzo una pierna, y la meo, como los perros lo suelen hazer en una esquina, o quando quieren orinar, sin le hazer ningun mal.*—Oviedo, li. 126.

Rico, Salazar was among men. The first thing which the Indians endeavoured to ascertain when they intended or expected an attack was, whether Salazar was with the Spaniards; if he were, they gave up all hope of success. So greatly did this opinion act upon his own countrymen as well as the Indians, that he was carried to the field, when all strength and power of exertion were gone, and he was dying piecemeal, by that dreadful disease which avenged the Indians upon so many of their oppressors. 'In truth,' says Oviedo, 'he was a man to be thought much of; not only by reason of his great strength and courage, but because he was right courteous in all his doings, and well-bred, and a person to be esteemed wherever there are men; and every one praised him for being singularly devoted to Our Lady. He died of that terrible complaint which I have mentioned, having manifested signal and patient repentance under his sufferings.' These men did not account their injustice, their rapacity, and their cruelty among their crimes! It is one great advantage to be derived from perusing the original historians of any age, that you learn from them in what degree the spirit of the age operated upon the community: later writers are equally in danger of allowing too little for it and too much; but when any portion of history has been carefully and extensively examined, the just and natural effect of such a course of reading should be to make us more tolerant concerning individuals, and less tolerant of those institutions and usages which corrupt the dispositions and pervert the consciences of men.

There was another hero (a biped) among the conquerors of Puerto Rico, who, like Salazar, was as remarkable for gallantry and generosity as for bodily strength. Sebastian Alonso de Niebla was his name—a labouring man—who, in Spain, had never done any thing but follow the plough, and dig, and perform other such works of husbandry; but he was bold, brave, active, robust, and, moreover, a tractable person, and of good conversation. He proved an excellent soldier for the Indian wars, having a tact in discovering paths and passes, whereby he was enabled to accomplish expeditions which others would have deemed it hopeless to undertake. His bodily strength was such, that no Indian could escape from his grasp. This Sebastian was on ill terms with his neighbour Martin de Guiluz, a Biscayan hidalgo, one of the chief settlers in Puerto Rico. One day he was told that, in his neighbour's absence, the Caribs had landed upon a farm of his, and were driving away his cattle, and plundering it. Sebastian exclaimed, 'God forbid it should be said that, because I was on bad terms with Martin de Guiluz, I suffered his property to be spoiled!' And calling incontinently for his horse, off he set to the rescue, with only two or three negroes, and one Christian, on
foot,

foot, in his company. The spoil was presently recovered; but Sebastian, confiding in his prodigious strength, chose rather to take prisoners, than to kill, such Caribs as he could close with. His way was to seize one by the hair, and, standing in his stirrups, lift him from the ground and deliver him over to the negroes to be secured. He had taken four in this manner; the fifth, whom he seized and suspended in the air, stabbed him in the groin with a poisoned arrow. Sebastian took vengeance for his inevitable death by slaying him and some seven or eight others whom he overtook. He lived long enough to see that his neighbour's property was restored, and to dispose of the whole of his own in charitable and pious works; and he left behind him a name which, if the old vein of Spanish verse had not been worn out, might have taken its place with 'the Infantes of Lara,' and 'My Cid the Campeador.'

The Spaniards planted their own institutions in their conquests as carefully as the Romans. They were, in that age, an industrious and a splendid people; and the city of St. Domingo is described, a few years after its foundation, as being better built than any city in Spain, Barcelona excepted. There is, probably, no other instance in colonial history of so rapid a growth. Francisco de Garay was the first person who built a house there of stone, after the Spanish plan; and it is said, that Charles V. was often lodged in worse houses than might be found in this capital of the Spanish Indies. Its prosperity soon received a sudden check: the brilliant success of Cortes attracted to the continent not only those who had their fortunes to seek, but those also who might have been well content (if rapacity and ambition could ever be contented) with what they had obtained; and, by the year 1525, the population of the city had visibly diminished. The mistaken policy of the home government inflicted upon it a more lasting evil—its prohibition of all intercourse with Europeans of any other nation than their own, at once provoked and invited piracy. The enterprise and the capital which would have been engaged in fair mercantile adventures, had the way been open, took this injurious direction, and a predatory warfare was commenced by the French, and pursued by the English; and, long before the dreadful association of the Buccaneers was formed, the ports of the Spanish colonies were infested by enemies, as daring as the Scandinavian Vikings, and hardly less ferocious. The first conquerors founded their towns where a harbour or a navigable river afforded facilities for communicating with Europe; in the next generation, when a new settlement was to be formed, the Spaniards looked for a situation which should be out of reach of a maritime enemy; and, in the third, many sea-ports were abandoned by order of the government. By a system, as short-sighted as it was selfish, the

colonists were first precluded from the socialising and humanising effects of a liberal commerce with other nations, and that prohibition placed them in a state of hostility with all. This ill effect, also, followed—that, having no intercourse with any other country than Spain, the Spanish Americans were shut out from all the improvements which were going on in the rest of Europe.

No sooner had the age of enterprise passed away for the Spaniards, than the English began their career of maritime adventure, which at one time rendered their name as odious, and as deservedly so, to the Spanish Americans, as that of the Spaniards themselves was to the original natives of the land. Captain Southey enters into the details of these expeditions with the spirit of an English sailor, but with the feeling, also, of one who, living in happier days, has been trained in a better school of humanity, and in a more generous system of warfare. He follows Hawkins, Drake, Lancaster, and the other adventurers of that stamp, as far as is consistent with the limits of his subject: they were men in whom Rollo and Hastings might have recognised their true and undegenerate descendants. Of these adventurers, Drake has the most conspicuous place in popular obloquy abroad, and in popular renown at home, as well as in maritime history; but the person who made the greatest and most persevering efforts for breaking the power of Spain was the Earl of Cumberland:—

‘If,’ says his chaplain, ‘men will take into consideration his Lordship’s expenses in his several journeys, his prosperous attempts in some of them, his breeding and employing men of worth and action, the many and great spoils committed upon the enemy, and the riches won from them, they will find his Lordship underwent about half the burden of the wars at sea; and that, the Queen’s actions excepted (and not many of them to be excepted), his employments, charges, spoils, and profits, did equal, or rather exceed, all other private actions undertaken and performed by all the rest of her subjects during these wars.’

Elizabeth, who had every other quality that becomes a queen, was wanting in generosity: therein she inherited the temper of the first Tudor, not of her father. Relying confidently upon her people’s love, she did not rely upon their liberality so much as she was entitled to do and might have done; and, when the Earl of Cumberland embarked his property and person, she would not fairly risk her ships, in the fear of incurring expense. Upon his fifth voyage, ‘the Earl having many times heretofore (says his chaplain) had the choice of such of her Majesty’s ships as should be fitting for the performance of his intended voyages (though undertaken upon his own adventure), finding that her Majesty’s prohibition, in no wise to lay an enemy’s ship aboard with any of them, lest that both together might come to be destroyed by fire, did bring with it much inconvenience, in regard that he had observed and found, by experience, that
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the great and rich ships and carracks had taken to them more boldness and courage of resistance than accustomed—who, heretofore, upon the discharge of the first tyre of ordinance, did usually strike sail and yield—so as if he should encounter the said ships again his Lordship should be enforced to transgress her Majesty's command, or else to lose so great a purchase (by good fortune fallen into his hands), to his great grief and scorn; these things considered, his Lordship rather made election to refuse her Majesty's ships, and to seek forth, amongst the merchants and owners, some ships of war of the best choice for his hire and wages.'

This is a curious fact in the naval history of England, that our ships should ever have been forbidden to lay an enemy aboard! The Earl, rather than be fettered by such a prohibition, built for himself a ship of nine hundred tons at Deptford, 'who, for her greatness and goodness, was the best ship that was ever before built or employed by any subject.' The Queen was at her launching, and named her the *Scourge of Malice*. Elizabeth was, indeed, well pleased to encourage such a spirit—too much in that temper which lets the free horse work itself to death. And of this the Earl complained: 'I have been,' he says, in a narrative addressed to his sister, 'only a fire-maker for others to warm themselves at, when I was thrust out of doors to blow my fingers in the cold: and I think was born, like Wat of Greenwich, to die carrying the coal basket.'

Few enterprises, even in that age, were more boldly undertaken, or more successfully achieved, than the attack which this Earl made upon Puerto Rico, in his twelfth voyage. He describes the city as 'in circuit not so big as Oxford, but very much bigger than Portsmouth, with the fortifications, and in my sight, much fairer, whatsoever you respect.' An amusing example occurs in his Chaplain Aglionby's account of the different light in which opposite parties regard the same circumstance: speaking of the way which the Earl resolved to take when he proceeded to attack the town, he says, 'truly it was God that put this constancy of resolution into his mind, for he was not without apprehension of the difficulties; but this proved the very best course, inasmuch that I have heard the Spaniards say, that except the devil had led us, we could never have found that way.' If Cumberland could have kept the island, as it was his intention to do, and an efficient government had been established there, (as it probably would, when English statesmen were forming colonial projects, and looking even as far as Madagascar,) many of the crimes and miseries of which these islands, during the next hundred years, were destined to become the theatre, might have been averted. But the climate, which has ever proved more destructive to the English than to the

the French or Spaniards, cut off, in the course of a few weeks, four hundred of his men, and disabled so many more, that it made it necessary for him to abandon his conquest. In twelve such expeditions he impaired his princely fortune, and past what should have been the best and happiest years of his life. But he had inherited the old, restless, unconquerable high spirit of the Cliffords, and, though deeming himself ill-requited for his services, looked with satisfaction upon the part which he had chosen, and believed that he had spent his life worthily and well. 'Disgraces,' said he, 'have been too heavily laid upon me, and, perhaps, would have discouraged many from farther endeavouring; yet shall it, whilst I live, glad my heart, knowing that I have done unto her Majesty an excellent service, and discharged that duty which I owe unto my country so far as that, whensoever God shall call me out of this wretched world, I shall die with assurance that I have discharged a good part I was born for.'

When Daniel addrest that fine epistle to the widow, this Earl's wife, he had probably the course of his restless and undomestic life in mind. The following lines seem plainly to have this reference, in which he reminds her how well she understands,—

'—— that unless above himself he can
Erect himself, how poor a thing is man!
And how turmoiled they are that level lie
With earth, and cannot lift themselves from thence;
That never are at peace with their desires,
But work beyond their years; and even deny
Dotage her rest, and hardly will dispense
With death. That when ability expires,
Desire lives still,—so much delight they have
To carry toil and travel to the grave.
Whose ends you see, and what can be the best
They reach unto, when they have cast the sum
And reckonings of their glory. And you know
This floating life hath but this port of rest,
A heart prepared, that fears no ills to come;
And that man's greatness rests but in his show,
The best of all whose days consumed are
Either in war, or peace, conceiving war.'

James's pacific system of policy put an end, for a time, to a system of warfare from the barbarizing effects of which the Spanish colonies never recovered. In his reign Sir George Somers took possession of the Bermudas, gave his own name to them, and died there of a death which he might have escaped had he been either Jew or Mahomedan,—for Captain Southey tells us it was 'a surfeit after eating pork.' Five of the settlers, becoming

coming impatient of that tyrannical abuse of power which has been the curse of all modern colonies in their infancy, and too often throughout their growth, built a decked boat of two or three tons, under pretence that it was for fishing in rough weather; in this they made sail for England, and though plundered on the way by a French picaroon, who 'left them without a cross staff to observe,' they were fortunate enough to arrive safe in Ireland. The Earl of Thomond honourably entertained them there, 'and caused the boat to be hung up for a monument; and well she might, for she had sailed more than three thousand three hundred miles, in a right line, through the main sea.' One of the crew was born under a lucky planet; after this marvellous escape he went to the East Indies, and there, for three or four shillings, bought an old chest; after a while, not liking his bargain, he broke it up, and found concealed in it a thousand gold pieces, with which he returned to England, and purchased an estate. Whether he was ever disturbed in the enjoyment of it, by a visit from the land of spirits, is not related,—but the ghost of the hoarder, if he had any regard for his heirs, was certainly in duty bound to walk.

Thus far in his history Captain Southey has found rich materials in the early Spanish historians, and in Hakluyt and Purchas; not, however, neglecting other sources, for he has searched widely, and compiled diligently. For the next period his authorities are chiefly French. P. F. Jean Baptiste Du Tertre is the first of these in order of time, a Dominican Missionary in the French islands. His work consists of four volumes, in small quarto, the two first published in 1667, the two latter in 1671. It is a woeful falling off in American history when the Spanish relations end, and those of any other nations, French, English, or Dutch, begin! The manner as well as the subject sinks at once. In passing even from Purchas to Du Tertre there is a loss; for there is a quaintness, and liveliness, and frequently a poetical feeling in old Purchas, who loved a pun as dearly as Fuller, and Cotton Mather, and Admiral Burney. Nevertheless Du Tertre is an authentic and valuable writer, who has preserved many original papers, and given a full and faithful account of the French colonies in their miserable beginnings. Our own began at the same time, in these islands, and their beginning was not better. Milton compared the wars of our Saxon ancestors, during the Heptarchy, to the battles of kites and crows; if he had referred to the early ones of the French and English, in this part of the world, he must have found some comparison that would have represented contests less noble and more ferocious. Adventurers of the two nations settled upon St. Kitts, so nearly at the same time, that if occupancy of an island, on which there were native inhabitants, might be admitted to

to confer a right of possession, it would be difficult to determine in which that right was vested. Mr., afterwards Sir Thomas Warner, was the English commander, M. D'Enambuc, the French one; they stood in need of each other's aid against the natives, who not having invited such visitors, and being perfectly aware that no better treatment was to be expected from them than the Indians had experienced in those other islands from which the race had been extirpated, formed a secret confederacy against them with the neighbouring islanders. The plot, as so many others of the same kind had been, was revealed by an Indian woman; the Europeans lost no time in prevention, but fell upon the natives that night, and killed one hundred and twenty of them, reserving only some of the women for slaves. They prepared then for the concealed invasion at the next full moon, and losing an hundred men themselves, who were wounded with poisoned arrows, defeated the Caribs, with the loss of two thousand. 'The bodies were piled up in a square mound.' Warner and D'Enambuc then divided the island between them; and both went to Europe for reinforcements. D'Enambuc sailed from France with three vessels, and more than five hundred men. The ships were badly equipped, they were ten weeks upon the passage, and never since the islands were discovered has there been, before or since, so miserable a voyage. Of seventy men, who were embarked in one of the ships, only sixteen survived when they reached their destination; the rest were in such a condition that more than half of those who landed died in the course of a few days. Warner had arrived not long before, with four hundred men, well provided, and in good health, and he received his allies with hospitality and charitable kindness.

The French appear to have been singularly deficient in their arrangements for bringing out colonists, and providing either for their subsistence, or health upon the voyage. In the ensuing year, one hundred and fifty men were sent out in one ship, the greater part died on the way, and the survivors were helpless when they were landed. A more miserable fate befell part of another detachment who came out the same year: one hundred and twenty had sailed from France; thirty of these poor wretches reached St. Kitts in such a state that they were not able to move when they were landed. Their comrades, with a recklessness which is but too characteristic of that people, left them there, taking no further thought for them; and *personne ne s'estant mis en peine de les aller querir le soir*, the land-crabs came down at night, and devoured them alive! They came in such number, as to stand in heaps upon the bodies, as high as the huts of the settlers: '*Huit jours après il n'y eut personne qui ne fut saisi d'horreur en voyant leurs*

leurs os sur le sable, tellement nets, que les crabbes n'y avoient pas laissé un seul morceau de chair !'

It was not likely that the French and English should long continue to inhabit the same little island in peace. The English were the more numerous, but they were regarded with great contempt by their less industrious neighbours, as chiefly consisting of male and female servants, bound for seven years, fitter, says Du Tertre, to weed gardens, to clean cotton, and to tie up tobacco, than to handle arms. The Friar Predicant had forgotten that cultivation was the proper business of a colonist, and that these were the services for which they were brought out. 'The French always went armed with four or five pistols, and a fusee, and spread such terror among their more industrious and prosperous neighbours, that they declared they would rather have two devils than one Frenchman for a neighbour.' In such circumstances, to be weak, is indeed to be miserable. There was a dispute concerning the boundary, the line of which was to be drawn from a large fig-tree to the mountain: of all landmarks a worse could not have been chosen, for the branches of this tree take root till one single tree becomes a grove. This unhappy landmark continually extended itself on the French side, and the English were so unwise as to alter their reckoning as it grew, 'still drawing their line from its western extremity.' They committed the greater folly of building upon this debateable ground, so that they had two hundred and fifty houses within what would have been the acknowledged French limits, if the line had been drawn from a fixed point. No lawyer could have pleaded in their behalf, unless he thought himself justified in defending any cause, however palpably unjust. But D'Enambuc took the shortest course of redress; and, as soon as he had received sufficient reinforcements for enabling him to dictate the law, enforced his rights at once by the *ultima ratio*. He sent some five hundred negroes, under French officers, round by the mountain to surprise the English, set fire to their houses, and put the inhabitants to the sword, while he attacked them on the other side. The negroes were to be rewarded with their freedom, if they performed this service well. They were armed with a torch in one hand, and a cutlass in the other. They looked terrible as demons, says Du Tertre, with their glittering cutlasses and their blazing flambeaux; but, in the same breath, the reverend Friar tells us, that the Capuchines would not abandon their dear flock; they marched with the troops, one carrying a great cross, and others animating them to fight bravely against the heretics, who hated them only out of antipathy to their religion!

The English, according to the French account, would not have submitted, as they did, to let D'Enambuc draw his own line of separation,

separation, and take in more than he had pretended to claim, if the cries of women, and the dread of the negroes, had not compelled them to accept of peace upon any terms. But the English statement is, that the negroes obeyed their instructions, and that women and young girls were seized, dragged into the French quarters, and there violated. Father Du Tertre, being professionally acquainted with all the gradations and qualifications of wickedness, endeavours to divide the sin which followed between both parties. Union being restored, he says, the French and English began to trade together again, to intervisit, and communicate so familiarly, that our French, who had at that time very few women in their quarters, carried thither freely the women of the English. '*On a parlé fort différemment de ce détestable commerce.*' Some affirm that the French employed violence; that they went armed to carry off the wives and daughters of their neighbours, and sent them back when they had satiated their brutal passions. Others, says the Friar, have assured me, that the English were so base as to let out their wives and women servants, for a good meal, or for a price in goods; my own opinion is, that there was as much fault on one side as on the other; the ardent disposition of the French made them sometimes use force, but the scandalous lubricity of the English women was the principal cause of this irregularity: they came with effrontery to the French, and, after remaining some fortnight or three weeks with the officer, returned home with impunity, impudently declaring that their husbands were mean fellows, and would be too happy to receive them again, without daring to reproach them. That morals were in the worst state among the English settlers, may be believed,—indeed, they were so bad, that they prevented an English clergyman, who went to the island with the intention of settling, from remaining there. But Father Du Tertre has himself produced a sufficient refutation of his own foul slander. These disorders, he says, would undoubtedly have brought on another war, if D'Euambuc, on the representations of the Capuchines, to whom the English complained, had not forbidden any Frenchman to seize or detain an English woman in his house, on pain of death.

The French commenced their settlements in Guadaloupe with the same kind of improvidence. Richelieu procured a brief from pope Urban VIII. to authorise this expedition; thus tacitly revoking that part of pope Alexander's famous bull which assigned the whole of these regions to the Spanish crown, and excommunicated all interlopers. Twenty-five hundred settlers were taken out; in less than two months they were put upon short allowance; their flour was consumed, and more than half died. Insufficient relief was obtained from St. Kitts.

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'The allowance was now five ounces of dough every day, but this was not served out till after mid-day; they were to work till then before it was distributed. Some sought refuge among the savages, who received them with great kindness; those who remained devoured the most loathsome substances—the surgeons' ointments; their own belts boiled down to a glue; excrement; and the graves were in the morning found open, and the carcasses dismembered; others desperately sought death, rather than endure their misery. One who had been twice burnt on the shoulders with the fleur-de-lis, and reprieved from the gallows by the intercession of Father Raymond, preferred stealing a fifth time that he might be promptly hung, to living any longer exposed to such insupportable famine.'—vol. i., pp. 274, 275.

Five years later Du Tertre formed part of the spiritual succours who were sent to this island: all the insolvent debtors of St. Kitts had been a little before declared free from their engagements, on condition of going to serve there against the Caribs, and three-fourths of them had died in consequence of the climate, destitution, and despair. Du Tertre found about an hundred of these wretched men in the house of their commander, lying on the ground, or, those who were best accommodated, upon some reeds—many of them in the last stage of disease, in filth indescribable, and without assistance from any one. 'I had hardly finished with one,' says he, 'when I was obliged to hurry to another. Sometimes when I was burying one, rolled up in banana leaves (for there was no talking of a winding-sheet then), I heard nothing from all parts of the house but dying voices, which said, "Stay a moment, father—do not fill up the grave; you will not have more trouble for two or three than for one;" and for the most part so it proved, for I commonly buried two or three in the same grave!' The history is an unrelieved series of miseries and crimes. The French government, at a time when it endeavoured to lay the moral and religious foundations of society, according to its own views, carefully, and it may even be said conscientiously, in Canada, allowed its settlements in the West Indies to be managed by any men, in any manner, and supported by any means. From Du Tertre's account of these settlements it is that Southern has drawn his picture of colonial society in the tragedy of Oronoko. Different as was the condition of the European settlers, the free Caribs, and the negro slaves—white, copper-coloured, and black were subject to the same caprices of absolute and insolent tyranny. We read of murders, domestic assassinations, and executions with or without the form of law, and sometimes almost without the pretext of a crime. The Caribs were exterminated from most of the islands by a merciless system of warfare, in which, when other means of destruction seemed too slow, poison was employed. The

people

people appear to have been as bad as their ruler; their treatment of the *engagés*, or bond-servants, was indeed so inhuman, that even such governors found it necessary to interfere; and some masters were, for their notorious cruelty, prohibited from purchasing the services of the poor wretches who had been entrapped from their own country. 'I knew one person at Guadeloupe,' says Du Tertre, 'who buried more than fifty upon his plantation, whom he had killed by hard work, or by neglect when they were sick. This cruelty proceeded from their having them for three years only, which made them spare the negroes rather than these poor creatures.'

A set of freebooters, many of whom were the outcasts of these outcasts, the outlaws of this lawless society, desperadoes who could live in no country where there were gibbets or wheels, had taken possession of Tortuga, expelling from thence a handful of Spaniards who had been placed there to garrison it, and considered themselves as in a kind of banishment from which they rejoiced to be thus set free. A colony grew up thus, composed of four sorts of persons, buccaneers, who employed themselves in hunting; freebooters, or pirates, who plundered by sea; the inhabitants, who cultivated the ground—some of whom raised tobacco; and bond-servants, a class of persons for whom, in latter times, the barbarous appellation of *Redemptioners* has been used. They lived together upon very good terms, under a sort of democratic government, which Captain Southey happily describes as one wherein 'every free person had despotic power in his house, and every captain on board his vessel.' After a few years, the Spaniards of St. Domingo, disliking this neighbourhood, and annoyed by those buccaneers, who were leading a worse than savage life in St. Domingo itself, hoped to rid themselves of the latter by taking Tortuga, which they looked upon as their nest. Timing their expedition well, when the freebooters were at sea, and the hunters had crossed to the larger island, they made their attack, put to the sword all whom they could seize, and hung those who surrendered in vain hope of mercy. Then they attempted to clear St. Domingo of its unwelcome visitors: these ruffians, finding themselves hotly pursued, chose an Englishman, by name Willis, for their captain, and he took possession again of Tortuga. There were about three hundred adventurers with him; the French accused him of being partial to his countrymen, and finding themselves too weak to set him aside and to appoint another captain in St. Kitts, applied to the French governor-general at St. Kitts to aid them. Accordingly a Huguenot, whose name was Le Vasseur, received a commission as governor of Tortuga, with orders to expel the English—which he had no difficulty in doing; for, as soon as he landed, the French in Willis's company revolted.

Willis,

Willis, in consequence, consented to withdraw immediately with all his countrymen, and Le Vasseur established himself in the island.

‘At five or six hundred paces from the sea, there is a mountain, the summit of which is level, and in the centre of this platform a rock rises thirty-feet high, and steep all round; at the foot of this rock issues a clear spring of sweet water, of the size of a man’s arm, which spring could not be cut off. Round the summit of the mountain, Le Vasseur made a terrace, with lodging-rooms for four hundred soldiers, and he had steps cut half-way up the rock, that rose in the middle of the platform, and an iron ladder to mount the rest, which ladder was drawn up when the governor retired to the rock; he had also a tunnel cut, by which, with a rope ladder, they might descend to the platform. Upon this rock Le Vasseur had his magazine, and several pieces of cannon, and upon the platform a great number more.

‘He soon established good order in the colony. The Buccaneers were received with attention, and the freebooters brought their prizes there, and got their commissions from the governor, by paying a tenth of their profits: these plundered the Spaniards both by sea and land; and the Spaniards, in return, put them to cruel deaths, whenever they caught them. The port was open to all nations, and it became the depôt from whence the Buccaneers and freebooters got their arms, ammunition, brandy, and clothes, in exchange for their hides and fish.’
—vol. i., pp. 287, 288.

Le Vasseur obtained great reputation by defeating the Spaniards in a formidable attack which they made upon the island. Some proof of ability, also, he gave in baffling a scheme which the governor-general had laid for entrapping him to St. Kitts, and then dispossessing him of his command—partly for jealousy, and partly in fear of being reprimanded for having given such a commission to a Huguenot, and by a secret article granted liberty of conscience to him and all of his persuasion. But this treatment provoked Le Vasseur to exercise intolerance toward an intolerant religion; he burnt the Romish chapel, and shipped off a capuchin, who was the only Romish priest upon the island. Then, also, he began to play the tyrant: and, in the worst mood of tyranny, to be mirthful in his cruelties. A dungeon in the fort he called his purgatory, and he had an iron cap made which he called his hell, into which he put the criminal’s head, arms, and legs, and thus kept him constantly bent. Hitherto he had manifested no disobedience to the governor-general; but, having taken a silver image of the Virgin in a Spanish vessel, the governor applied for it, saying, that it would more properly be in possession of a Roman Catholic and a knight of Malta than of a Huguenot: Le Vasseur sent him a copy in wood, saying, he admired the workmanship of the original too much to part with it, and that the Roman Catholics were too spiritual

spiritual to regard the materials of which their images were made. The conclusion of this man's history is characteristic of the state of manners and morals. Being unmarried, and without children, he adopted two nephews and named them as his heirs. Thibault, the one, had a handsome woman for his mistress: Le Vasseur was not too old to rival his nephew in this woman's favour. The intrigue was discovered, and Thibault consulted with Martin his brother how to be revenged. Murder was so little regarded in their accursed state of society, that they made no attempt to conceal their vengeance, but executed it openly: the one brother firing at him, and the other despatching him with a dagger. They then took possession of the government. An expedition soon arrived which had been sent from St. Kitts against the uncle; and the two assassins, finding themselves unsupported by the people, surrendered, on condition of indemnity, and security for their property. Attempting afterwards to recover the island from the Spaniards, who had again taken it, they were lost at sea, with some three hundred followers; most, or all of them, no doubt well nigh as deserving as themselves of a drier death.

Yet, from such men and such beginnings the French colony of St. Domingo arose; in its commencement, perhaps, the most flagitious of all these colonies; in its prosperity certainly the most flourishing; and in its catastrophe, it may be hoped, the most disastrous. But even the buccaneers, wicked and inhuman above all men as they were, laid the same kind of unction to their souls as the Spaniards had done, and persuaded themselves that, in their career of cruelty, they were exacting vengeance for the wrongs of the Indians. This is curiously shown in the engraved title-page to their history, in the original Dutch; on the one side, a Spaniard is represented treading on an Indian, on the other, a buccaneer treading on a Spaniard; *Innocenter* is written under the first compartment—*Pro peccatis* under the other.

The Spaniards, after keeping possession of Tortuga about eighteen months, blew up the fort, burnt all the buildings, laid the plantations waste, and withdrew their garrison, in consequence of the alarm occasioned in St. Domingo by the appearance of an English fleet. This was the expedition under Penn and Venables which Cromwell had sent out: it failed disgracefully in its main object; the Spaniards routed half the army before the rest could come up, slew six hundred, drove two hundred more into the woods, where they were hunted down and slaughtered by the negroes, and wounded three hundred, most of them in the back—so shameful was the panic. General Haines, endeavouring in vain to rally his men, begged for God's sake that only ten would stay by him and make a stand—but not one was found; and he, preferring

ferring death to disgrace, fell like a brave man, selling his life dearly. Venables imputed this villainous behaviour not to the men who were brought from England, some three thousand in number, but to the five thousand adventurers whom he collected from Barbadoes and St. Kitts; and who, he says, were 'found most fearful, being only bold to do mischief; not to be commanded as soldiers, not to be kept in any civil order, being the most profane, debauched persons that he ever saw—scorners of religion, and, indeed, so loose as not to be kept under discipline, and so cowardly as not to be made to fight; so that, had we known what they would have proved, we should rather have chose to have gone ourselves, as we came from England, than to have such for our assistants, who, we fear, with some others put upon us in England, have drawn heavy afflictions upon us, dishonour upon our nation and religion.' It is said that the Spaniards, by whom they were thus scandalously routed, did not exceed fifty men, exclusive of negroes and mulattoes, and, by this handful of enemies, seven English colours were carried to the city of St. Domingo as sure trophies of victory. Another extraordinary memorial of the preservation of the island, at that time, was preserved in the cathedral there till our own days. The troops were so thoroughly intimidated that, when they were seeking food, the very apprehension of an enemy put them to flight; 'and, at some times, when neither men nor beasts were near, only the leaves of trees making some little noise, and the sound of crabs stirring in the woods, possessed them with such eminent fears, that they, leaving their weapons behind, ran over clefts into the sea.' The Spaniards, retaining only traditional accounts of the expedition, believe that the clattering of the land-crabs, over the dry leaves, was mistaken by the English for the march of cavalry, and that, under that belief, they hastily re-embarked, and abandoned their disastrous enterprise. In remembrance of this they had the image of a land-crab wrought in solid gold, the size of a drum-head, and appointed an anniversary festival, on which day the crab was carried in procession. When the French took possession of the city, they transferred the crab from the cathedral to the crucible, and from the crucible—those in authority among them best know where.

Sailing from St. Domingo with the loss of seventeen hundred men, they appointed a day of humiliation; and, 'in consequence of the great cowardice which had been shown, it was proclaimed to the whole army, that whosoever should be found to turn his back to the enemy and run away, the next officer should immediately run him through, which, if he failed to perform, himself was to suffer death without mercy.' An Englishman, in these days,

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can scarcely believe that what he thus reads can have related to his own countrymen, and in an age, too, when the name of Englishman was never more respected throughout Christendom. To this very force, however, Jamaica was surrendered without resistance. The expedition had been undertaken upon the information given respecting the Spanish colonies by Thomas Gage, an unprincipled and worthless fellow, who having been a Dominican friar in New Spain, had thrown off his frock, and designated himself at this time as 'preacher of the Word of God at Deal, in the county of Kent.' This man published what he called a 'New Survey of the West Indies, or the English American his travels by sea and land;' in which, without acknowledgment, he transcribed largely from the old translation of Gomara. In a second edition of this book, published after the Restoration, its dedication to Fairfax was altered into an address to the reader, and the concluding chapter was omitted; a circumstance noticed by that good, honest, blunder-headed, thorough-paced bigot, Thomas Hollis: 'that chapter,' he said, 'contained several particulars concerning the hopes the papalins had of Laud's favourable intentions toward them.' It contains an assertion that the unfortunate service-book, which was composed for the church of Scotland, had been sent by Laud to Rome, 'to be first viewed and approved of by the pope and cardinals. This Gage says he heard at Rome, from father Fitzherbert, rector of the English college there, and this most true relation he had often spoken of in private discourse, and publicly preached it at the lectures of Wingham in Kent; and when he printed his book, he says, "I could not in my conscience omit it here, both to vindicate the just censure of Death, which the now sitting parliament have formerly given against him for such like practices and compliances with Rome; and, secondly, to reprove the ungrounded opinion and error of some ignorant and malignant spirits who, to my knowledge, have since his death highly exalted him, and cried him up for a martyr."'

This impudent and absurd falsehood made the first edition of Gage's book precious in the eyes of Thomas Hollis, who could believe any thing, except what was good, of an archbishop or a king; and forgive any thing, even Christianity itself, in a republican or a usurper! Gage accompanied the expedition, and fell in it—receiving from the Spaniards his death, but not exactly that which, as a traitor to them, he had deserved.

A book, relating to the West Indies, in the same small, thin folio form, but of a very different character, was published two years after Gage's rascally compilation by Richard Ligon. To this book it is that we are beholden for the sad story of Yarico in the *Spectator*, and for the pleasant comedy which the younger Colman

Colman has built upon that foundation. Few books have ever been written with a kindlier spirit, or in a livelier and more characteristic manner, than his 'True and Exact History of the Island of Barbadoes.' By history, he means simply an account. It was drawn up, because his conversation upon the subject had interested Bishop Duppa, whom he addresses as his most honoured and highly esteemed friend; and that he should have been so permitted to address such a person, is sufficient proof that Ligon was himself the simple-hearted, right-minded, good, amiable man that he appears to be in his book. In better times, poor Ligon would have found, from this excellent prelate, the patronage which he deserved.

'You can best tell,' said the bishop to him in a letter written after he had perused the book, and before it was published, 'You can best tell with what pleasure you past over your voyage to Barbadoes. But, whatsoever it was, your dangers at sea, and your long sickness on land, had been enough to sour it, had not the condition of the times made any place more acceptable than your native country. But the pleasure which you have given me in reading this narrative is without all these mixtures: for, without any hardship at all, I have in a few days gone the same voyage, viewed the island, weighed all the commodities and incommunities of it, and all this with so much pleasure that I cannot, without great injustice, forbear telling you, that though I have read formerly many relations of other parts of the world, I never yet met with so exact a piece as this of yours. Your diligence hath been great in so short a time to make these observations; but your expressions of them are such as show that no ingenious art hath escap't you. You say that, in your younger time, you acquainted yourself with music and painting; and, had you not said so, the reading of this book would have made me say it for you; for it is so musically made up, and all the descriptions so drawn to the life, that I know no painting beyond it. And for the question you put to me, whether you should publish it or no, I desire you would make no doubt of it; for, first, I know none that hath written of this argument before; and, next, I am persuaded that, having read this description of yours, none that come after will venture upon it. Only, I have one request to you, that your kindness to me (who, without any design, gave you the occasion of doing it) may not lead you into such an insufferable error as to choose me out as a fit person to inscribe it to, who am so much in the shade, that I must not own myself. I am willing to believe, that, though honour be at this time at a very low ebb, and, by the iniquity of the times, is much fallen within the banks, yet the channel is not so dry but you may meet there with some noble person that may, with more advantage, take you and your book into the same cock-boat with him, and keep you this winter both from cold and hunger. And, therefore, in great earnestness, I desire you to look over your catalogue of friends; and, though you cannot find one that loves you better, yet make choice of him that can protect you better. And so

with my prayers for you, that your afflictions here may be so managed by you as to lead you to joys hereafter, I rest your most affectionate friend,

BR. SAR.

Ligon, though confined to what was then called the *Upper Bench Prison*, when he received the letter, was not so poor in spirit as in fortune, and the book appeared accordingly with the epistle dedicatory to Duppa as Lord Bishop of Salisbury. Lovelace's noble prison-verses are not written in a more cheerful spirit. Throughout the book the good old man never utters a complaint, nor expresses the slightest feeling of discontent; and though this resignation to misfortune, brought upon him by the general misery which the civil war occasioned, must have been common to him with thousands and tens of thousands of his fellow-sufferers, the elasticity and cheerfulness of mind which he discovered were his own. He had intended, he said, to have painted 'a piece of landscape, and one of story, wherein to express the postures of the negroes in their several kinds of sports and labours, and with it the beauties of the vegetables that do adorn that place, in the best perfection he could;' but presently after, (says he,) 'being cast into prison, I was deprived both of light and loneliness—two main helpers in that art: and so, being disabled to discern or judge of colours, I was compelled to express my design in black and white.' He makes no more complaint than this, and expresses a confident hope that God, who had delivered him from sickness and death on land, and from shipwrecks and hazards at sea, would also deliver him 'from that uncircumcised Philistine, the Upper Bench; than which neither the burning fire of a fever, nor the raging waves of the sea are more formidable.' 'But (said he) we have seen and suffered greater things—and when the great leveller of the world, Death, shall run his progress, all estates will be laid even. *Mors sceptrum Ligonibus æquat.*' With this pun the happy-minded old man concludes his volume.

Barbadoes was in a state of great prosperity during Ligon's residence there—using the word prosperity in the sense attached to it by political economists. Property was rapidly increasing in value, and the planters were making great, even ambitious fortunes, according to the precept in Horace, *quocunque modo*. This was owing to the sugar plantations. They had brought canes from Pernambuco, then in possession of the Dutch, and had gone thither to learn the whole process of extracting and refining the sugar; and this with such success, that 7000*l.* were paid for the moiety of a plantation, consisting of five hundred acres, the whole of which, a very few years before, might have been purchased for

for 400*l*. The purchaser, who went out with Ligon, had resolved not to return to England, till he should have realised 10,000*l*., 'all by the sugar-plant;' and Colonel Drax, who began with 300*l*., had raised his fortune to such a height, that he expected in a few years to purchase, in his own country, an estate of 10,000*l*. a-year, with less than which he would not be contented. He was not able, he said, to say of the planters half what they deserved. They were men of great abilities and parts, 'otherwise they would not go through with such great works as they undertook,'—a plantation being a work of such latitude as required 'a very good head-piece to put in order and continue so. 'He found them,' he says, 'as to their nature and disposition, compliable in a high degree to all virtues that those of the best sort of gentlemen call excellent. They were kind and hospitable to strangers, and upon the best terms with each other.' Different persuasions were not allowed to occasion any dissensions there: the words Roundhead and Cavalier were by common consent prohibited; whoever used either, was to give to all who heard him 'a shot and a turkey to be eaten at his house.' In this respect, Little England, as it was afterwards called, was happier than the mother-country; but he tells us, that after he left the island it was otherwise. Prosperous, however, as the settlers were, he thought there were few of them that would not gladly 'sell good pennyworths, to settle themselves quietly in England.' Sicknesses were more grievous there; there was a 'plentiful want' of such remedies as were to be found in their own country, and the mortality was of course far greater. Indeed, among the articles which he recommends to be taken out for sale, is black ribbon for mourning, as being much worn there, by reason of frequent death. When he arrived there, [the sickness was so prevalent and fatal, that the living could hardly bury the dead; they threw the bodies (i. e., of the slaves and bond-servants no doubt) into the morass close to Bridgetown, and thus infected the water, so that many were supposed to have died in consequence of drinking it.

The climate was not the only discomfort to which they were subjected. The state of domestic insecurity in which they lived was a greater evil; their houses were always stored with water, 'to serve for drink in case they should be besieged either by Christian servants or negro slaves, and also to throw down upon the naked bodies of the negroes scalding hot, which is as good a defence against the undermining as any other weapons.' The danger was greater from the bondsmen than from the negroes, because they were worse treated, for the same reason which Du Tertre assigns for the same wickedness in the French islands. 'The slaves and their posterity (says Ligon) being subject to their masters for ever,

are kept and preserved with greater care than the servants who are there but for five years, according to the law of the island ; so that, for the time, the servants have the worsè lives, for they are put to very hard labour, ill-lodging, and their diet very slight. Truly I have seen such cruelty there done to servants, as I did not think one Christian could have done to another.' This had occasioned a plot for murdering the planters ; it was discovered ; and eighteen of the persons concerned in it were found ' so haughty in their resolutions and so incorrigible,' that it was deemed necessary to put them to death, lest they should become actors in a second plot. The value that was set upon the bond-servants is curiously exemplified in an anecdote, which has not escaped Captain Southey :—

' There was a planter in the island that came to his neighbour, and said to him, " Neighbour, I hear you have lately brought good store of servants out of the last ship that came from England ; and I hear withal that you want provisions. I have great want of a woman-servant, and would be glad to make an exchange. If you will let me have some of your woman's flesh, you shall have some of my hog's flesh." So the price was set, a groat a-pound for the hog's flesh and sixpence for the woman's. The scales were set up, and the planter had a maid that was extremely fat, lazy, and good for nothing ; her name was Honour. The man brought a great fat sow, and put it in one scale, and Honour was put in the other. But when he saw how much the maid outweighed his sow, he broke off the bargain and would not go on.'

A kinder treatment began to prevail as discreeter and better-natured men had come to rule there. A certain Colonel Walrond, by merely providing his bond-servants with rug gowns, such as poor people wear in hospitals, that they might sleep in these instead of lying down in their hammocks, in shirt and drawers, (which was their only clothing,) when soaked in perspiration, ' got such love of his servants, as they thought all too little they could do for him.' Thirty pounds was the price of a good negro, from twenty-five to twenty-seven of a negress ; and care was then taken that the sexes might be equal. Indeed, the planters, who in some things discovered a great tendency to ' liberal opinions,' denied not a slave, who was ' a brave fellow and had extraordinary qualities, two or three wives. But no woman was allowed above one husband.' Ligon, whose good nature led him always to regard all men and everything in the most favourable point of view, thought well of the negroes, and says that there were men among them ' as morally honest, as conscionable, as humble, as loving to their friends, and as loyal to their masters, as any that live under the sun.' The description of a negro-mother, at work in the field
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with her child, is worthy of a painter:—'Time (he says) they have of suckling their children in the fields, and refreshing themselves; and good reason, for they carry burdens on their backs and yet work too. Some women, whose pickaninnies are three years old, will, as they work at weeding, which is a stooping work, suffer the he pickaninnie to sit astride upon their backs, like St. George a-horseback, and there spur his mother with his heels, and sing and crow on her back, clapping his hands as if he meant to fly; which the mother is so pleased with, as she continues her painful stooping posture, longer than she would do, rather than discompose her jovial pickaninnie of his pleasure, so glad she is to see him merry.' This subject might tempt a painter, if painting could express the moral feeling which is so happily brought out in the lively language of this simple-hearted happy old man.

There was one poor fellow, who, having had the compass explained to him, as well as Ligon could explain the cause of its movement, requested that he might be made a Christian, 'for he thought to be a Christian was to be endued with all those knowledges he wanted.' The story is what our old writers would have called considerable. 'I promised (says Ligon) to do my best endeavours, and when I came home, spoke to the master of the plantation, and told him that poor Sambo desired much to be a Christian; but his answer was, that the people of that island were governed by the laws of England, and by those laws we could not make a Christian a slave. I told him my request was far different from that, for I desired him to make a slave a Christian. His answer was, that it was true, there was a great difference in that; but being once a Christian, he could no more account him a slave, and so should lose the hold they had of them as slaves, by making them Christians; and by that means should open such a gap, as all the planters in the island would curse him. So I was struck mute, and poor Sambo kept out of the church, as ingenious, as honest, and as good-a-natured poor soul as ever wore black or eat green.' This was in the days of Mayhew, and Elliot, and Roger Williams; and the difference between Barbadoes and New England well shows the difference between commercial colonies, and those to which the adventurers have gone with an intention of taking up their rest;—in a word, the difference between planters and settlers. Cotton Mather gave too lofty a title to his most curious and characteristic history of New England, when he called it *Magnalia Christi*; for the people, of whom he treats, must be regarded, *κατὰ πάντα ὡς δεισιδαιμονεῖς*. But for the early annals of the Spanish conquests, *Magnalia Martis* would be a fitting title, and for those of the sugar islands, *Magnalia Mammonis*.

Barbadoes

Barbadoes soon became the most flourishing of the English islands. More capital was invested there, and with more confidence, because the English had it to themselves. Du Tertre described it, in 1656, as having two regular cities, and in each more than an hundred taverns, as well furnished as in Europe; but this was most certainly an exaggerated report; for elsewhere he has remarked the difference between the French, and English, and Spanish islands. In the latter, there were regular cities, well-built and well-fortified, and populous enough to contain cathedral churches, and convents belonging to different orders as in Europe; whereas in none of the former, Barbadoes alone excepted, was there, as yet, either town or village, not even, he says, among the English at St. Christopher, Antigua, Nevis, or Montserrat, though their islands were incomparably better peopled than those of his own countrymen. No money had at that time been introduced into the French islands, all business being by barter, at a fixed value. In those islands, no person might marry without a license from the governor. Among the few circumstances which are found to relieve the dark picture of this early colonial society, the administration of justice, when there was any, may be instanced. Once a week, the French governors heard causes under the great fig-tree at Basse Terre, in the island of Guadaloupe, and under a calabash-tree, at Fort St. Pierre, at Martinico; and the parties were never dismissed till they had come to an agreement, and been reconciled with each other. The picture would lose something of its patriarchal character, if a negro were introduced in it, nailed by the ear to one of these trees, or the ear without the negro, after the man had been released by cutting it off! This was the ordinary mode of punishment for certain offences. A poor fellow, who had previously left one of his ears as a fixture upon the fig-tree, was condemned to lose the other in like manner. He declared that he would not submit to the sentence, till he was permitted to see the governor, M. De Poincy, and intreat from him a remission of the punishment. With some humanity, this was allowed; he threw himself at the governor's feet, and begged that his ear might be spared, because it was his only one, and if it were cut off, he should not know where to put his cigar. The plea was successful for its oddity, like a more memorable one, somewhat of the same kind, which the reader will recollect as having been advanced on the side of mercy, by the Duke of Lauderdale—who was not the most merciful of men.

The council of state, in England, on the conquest of Jamaica, voted that a thousand girls should be enlisted in Ireland, and sent thither, with an equal number of young men. At the same time, Cromwell ordered the Scotch government to apprehend all known, idle,

idle, masterless robbers, and vagabonds, male and female, and without judge or jury, transport them to the same place. For the women, it is probable that this was a beneficial measure. Of those who went out in the ship with Ligon, the greater number were 'taken from Bridewell, Turnbull-street, and such like places of education.' If wretchedness and the desire of turning from a miserable and sinful course of life might be considered as entitling such women to the benefit of transportation, without the commission of a statutable offence, there could be no truer act of compassion than in supplying, at this time, by such means, the want of women in New South Wales. The disproportion of the sexes which exists there, at present, as it is above all other causes destructive to the morals of the colony, so is it the most extraordinary proof of thoughtless, reckless, senseless, scandalous mismanagement in the whole annals of colonial history, abounding as such history does, above all others, in examples of error, folly, and disregard of all that ought to be regarded. Such wives as could be enlisted in Ireland, or recruited from Bridewell and Turnbull-street, were good enough for the settlers whom Sedgwick, the governor of Jamaica, describes in a despatch to Thurlow:—'I believe, (said he,) they are not to be paralleled in the whole world, a people so lazy and idle, as it cannot enter into the heart of any Englishman that such blood should run in the veins of any born in England, so unworthy, slothful, and basely secure.'

Where the great body of settlers were of such a description, it may seem strange that, from the beginning the pride of caste and colour should have prevailed—a pride which has been the curse of all colonies, where variety of colour exists, the Portuguese alone excepted; and their exception has been owing, not to any sounder and more enlarged views of policy than their neighbours possessed, but to the comparative paucity of their own population. The consequence of this feeling was manifested in the family of Sir Thomas Warner, the first English governor of St. Kitts. He had a Carib mistress, a native of Dominica, remarkable in youth for her beauty, and for the extraordinary age which she attained. Labat saw her when she was, in his opinion, one of the oldest creatures in the world; she was then bald, entirely naked, and her skin resembling old parchment shrivelled and smoked; but she had still most of her teeth, and bright and lively eyes. Madam Warner was still the name by which she was known, and she was mistress of a very large *carbet*, or human hive, which was thickly peopled with her descendants to the third and fourth generation. She was a slave when Warner, though a married man, took her for his mistress; and one of the sons whom she bore him, he called by his own name, and educated with his legitimate children in his own house,

house, treating him, in all respects, upon the same footing. The boy had been remarkably favoured by nature, having nothing of the Indian in his outward appearance, except his complexion, and perhaps a certain gravity, which gave a strength and dignity of character to his European features; he was of middle stature, finely formed: just as he was growing up, his father died, and the widow, Lady Warner, who had till then behaved towards him according to her husband's pleasure, degraded him to the condition of a slave, and compelled him to work with other slaves in the field. The youth was of too high a spirit to brook this. The Carib blood rose in him, and he joined a party of Maroons; but he was caught, heavily ironed by this hard-hearted woman, and made to work in his irons. In this condition he was found by one of his half-brothers, then Governor of Montserrat, who, coming to St. Kitts, interfered, as it became him; had him released from his fetters; and prevailed on Lady Warner to give him some office of authority and trust over her other servants. This better treatment continued only till the governor departed; and young Warner, as the only means of escaping from this woman's tyranny, listened to the advice of his mother, who had been sent back to her countrymen in Dominica, made his way thither, and, for his mother's sake, was received by the Caribs as one of their own nation. They were then at war with the English; he brought about a peace, and soon acquired by his abilities and intrepidity an ascendancy over them, which made him a considerable person in the estimation both of the French and English; but with the English it was that he thought himself naturally allied. According to Du Tertre, he proposed to himself no meaner object of ambition than that of making himself king of all the savages, though, at the same time, he spoke of them as *des bestes, des coquins, des gueux, et des misérables, indignes de luy*. He accuses him also of instigating the Caribs to exercise the greatest cruelties upon the French; they could not have needed much instigation, some of the governors having used, by Du Tertre's own statement, to give themselves '*le divertissement de les faire battre en duel à coups de flèches en leur présence*.' Lord Willoughby, the better to engage this Warner in the English interest, took him to England, where he was introduced at court, and mingled in society like one who had been educated in civilized and Christian habits; but on his return, he threw off his cloak, and resumed the savage costume and way of life, confining himself, however, always to one wife. He received, at this time, a commission from Lord Willoughby, appointing him Governor of Dominica, and giving him the title of captain—thus recognising him for a British subject and as in the British service.

It is not likely that Warner ever entertained the ambitious project

ject for which Du Tertre has given him credit: he must have understood the instability of the Carib character, and the infinite superiority of the French and English too well, to have dreamt of erecting an independent sovereignty with such materials and between such neighbours. The Caribs, like the other native islanders, were a people ripe for destruction: their greater courage and more adventurous spirit delayed their extinction for some generations, but could not finally avert it; and their destruction, like that of every American nation, was facilitated by their international enmity. Those who were in the French interest mortally hated Warner and his people. The latter are accused of eating their enemies; and, by some of those enemies, Warner would certainly, says Du Tertre, have been roasted, buccaneered, and eaten himself, if he had not escaped on board an English vessel. That ship was taken by the French; and F. Beaumont, a friar predicant, and, like his brethren, militant also, recognised Warner on board, as the bird of whom they were in pursuit. They returned, therefore, to Guadaloupe joyfully with their prize, where the French governor, M. du Leon accommodated him, in the friar-like phrase of the reverend father and apostolical missionary, Jean Baptiste du Tertre, 'with his best pair of fetters, and a heavy pair of handcuffs for bracelets;' then threw him into a dungeon from which it was not possible for him to escape unless by a miracle; and miracles, says he, *ne se font point pour de telles gens*. Shortly afterwards a party of French Caribs arrived there, after a successful expedition against Antigua, where they had killed, roasted, and eaten many of the English. They brought with them, as memorials of their success, a pair of English hands, dried and hardened on the boucan; and, visiting Warner in his prison for the sake of exulting over him, one of the savages struck him so violent a blow on the head with one of these hands, that the blood gushed forth. 'There,' said he, 'take that token from the hand of one of your friends.' Du Tertre here renders justice to the man whom he elsewhere vilifies. Warner, he says, received the blow like a stoic; and looking disdainfully at the Carib, said to him, 'You are a base wretch; if you have any quarrel with me, you should seek me in my own carbet, not strike me in the condition in which I now am.' Then it was that he expressed to a Frenchman his sense of superiority over the Caribs, saying, that he had retired among them, only because he had been driven to that course by the persecution of Lady Warner. '*Au reste*,' he continued, 'I am a governor—I have a commission; and M. du Leon is not justified in using me thus, who am a prisoner of war.' He was asked, from no compassionate motives, if his irons did not incommode him: to which he replied, 'I am used to them; here I have worn them, and for a long time at St. Kitts;

Kitts ; but I shall soon be out of them, and shall then know how to revenge myself.' M. du Leon lived in fear of this. *Ce drole-là, di-t-il, est cause que je ne dors pas un bon sommeil* ; and he wished to send him to France, there to be sent to the gallies for life. But another governor arrived, and at the end of the war, Warner being claimed by the English, was released, on condition that he should live like an Englishman and not as a Carib. He fell at last by English hands, and by fraternal treachery. There was some dispute with the Caribs, and one of Sir Thomas Warner's sons (not the one, it may be hoped, who had formerly interfered with proper feeling in his behalf) went with an expedition to suppress them. The Carib Warner received him as a brother, and entertained him—during the repast a signal was given, and he and all the Indians were massacred.

The lawless license, for which such scope is given in all countries that are governed from a distance, was favoured in this part of the world, during the middle of the seventeenth century, by the troubles in France and England ; for, if either government had been at leisure to attend to their colonies, it is not credible that they should have suffered the buccaneering system to have proceeded so long without a check. The exclusive pretensions of the Spaniards, at the very commencement of their discoveries, provoked that sort of contraband trade which wants only opportunity to associate itself with piracy. Drake, and Cavendish, and the Earl of Cumberland, and the adventurers of their times, were under some restraint of responsibility and honour ; they were in the Queen's service, and sailed under the national flag ; but the buccaneers were men of all countries, who had broken loose from all ties of allegiance, religion, honour, conscience, and humanity ; and, during their career, the Spanish settlements suffered as much as Flanders, France, and England had formerly done from the Danes. Writers upon the West Indies have observed, that the French and English colonies were benefited doubly by the course which these ruffians pursued : first, by being rid of them ; secondly, by the wealth which, when disposing of their booty, they put in circulation. For a West Indian, this might be a consolatory consideration, not to those who, being unconcerned in the good or evil of the transfer, perceive that the guilt and misery was removed from one place only to be brought into action, with aggravated effect, in others. Nations, like individuals, are but too willing to suppose that they throw off their inheritance of national guilt, when they can show that other nations have incurred guilt of the same kind, and in the same degree. Now, there is no mode of defence which so surely betrays the consciousness of weakness, as that which rests upon recriminative accusation. But it is just as well
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and as charitable to bear in mind, that no European nation is entitled to reproach another on the score of its colonial history, each having incurred a fearful share of sin : the consolation is, that in all cases it has proceeded less from the national character than from the character of the times. And, in the case of the buccaneers, all nations—except, perhaps, the Spanish Americans, who were the objects of their enmity—have their full share. If the bulk of them were French and English, Dutch and Flemings in great numbers, and not a few Spaniards and Portuguese, are found among them : the ruffians and outcasts, and the unfortunates and the castaways, also, of all nations.

In that singular book of the Robinson Crusoe class, Penrose's Journal, (the history of which, or rather of its author, is and is likely to remain a mystery,) there is a frightful superstition imputed to the buccaneers, which is more likely to have been actually known to the author, than imagined by him. It was an old custom among them, he says, when chance threw any large booty in the way, to hide it, till a convenient occasion, on islands, quays, and secret places along the coasts, using a most diabolical ceremony at the interment of their riches ; for such men stuck at no cruelty which they fancied necessary to their purpose. After signing a round-robin, and administering an oath of secrecy, they buried the treasure, and near it some unfortunate Spaniard, negro, or mulatto, whom they put to death, under a superstitious notion that his spirit would be compelled to watch over the treasure, and keep it safely till they could remove it ; a paper was generally deposited in a bottle near, containing, in words and hieroglyphics, intelligible only to those whom it concerned, instructions in what direction to dig. There is the representation of such a paper in the book, bearing with it strong marks of authenticity. The superstition itself is likely to have been of negro origin.

As the buccaneers rivalled the Spanish conquerors in intrepidity and in cruelty, they resembled them, also, in having among them individuals who, though engaged in such fellowship and involved in such pursuits, retained their sense of right and wrong, and their love of better things. It is remarkable that their hateful history is chiefly derived from themselves ; and in their school it was that Dampier was trained—one of our best seamen, and most observant as well as faithful travellers. Captain Southey has not pursued their adventures beyond the limits of his own subject : within those limits they have afforded him much curious matter, but, perhaps, nothing more singular than what was once the well-known story of Anne Bonny and Mary Read. Where Du Tertre and the buccaneers fail, Father Labat supplies materials. Labat, like Du Tertre, was a Dominican, and reminds you himself that he was a

missionnaire

missionnaire apostolique, when he gives a receipt for making fowls tender by skinning them alive! But no one, after seeing his portrait, can be surprised either at the receipt or the remark that accompanies it. It is prefixed to his *Nouveau Voyage aux Isles de l'Amérique*, the most valuable of his numerous publications; a negro is represented kneeling and holding it in a frame, and underneath are these verses:

*'Ecrivain curieux des pàis, des mœurs,
Il crue ses écrits des graces de son stile;
Corrige en amusant l'homme de ses erreurs
Et sait mêler partout l'agréable et utile.'*

The praise is not overcharged; but Labat's character is as truly set forth in his portraits as in his writings. The face is so much that of a satyr that, if the cowl were up, it might surely be supposed there were horns under it, as well as a goat's tail and goatish feet below; but then it is the face of a French satyr, and of an educated one,—intelligent, clever, lively, mirthful, malicious, selfish, sensual, unfeeling. A more entertaining and instructive book concerning the West Indies has not been written. The matter is always good—the manner always agreeable. He never fails to amuse the reader; and as little does he fail to disgust him whenever his own character appears. There is good sense everywhere in the volumes, good feeling nowhere. His intellectual nature seems never to have slumbered, and his moral sense never to have been awakened. He was a jovial friar, a pleasant companion, a tolerable engineer, an able politician, a good writer, an excellent cook, and a true Frenchman. He had the interest of France always in view; and when he was hospitably entertained at Barbadoes, contrived to bring away a plan of the island and of its fortifications, for use when opportunity might offer.

He found the island very much improved since Ligon's time: excellent roads had been made; for want of which, half a century before, camels had been used as beasts of burden; sixteen hundred weight was not too great a burden for one, and hogsheads, whether of sugar or of liquor, could then be conveyed in no other manner; but they soon died, which Ligon supposed to be because there were few who knew how to diet them. Labat might have found, in the necessity for good roads, a sufficient reason for making them; but, according to him, they were rendered necessary by the jovial habits of the people, who considered it a point of honour that no guest should depart sober from a dinner party. The dinner hour, he says, was very late, for they did not sit down at table till two o'clock; but then they remained there far into the night. The friars, who were great authorities in such matters, pronounced a most favourable opinion upon their way of life in this respect—

'leurs

'leurs tables sont très bien servies, ils ont d'assez bons cuisiniers, de très beau linge, beaucoup d'ordre et de propreté.' Partridges had been brought from England, and were reared as poultry there—and, indeed, no cost was spared in bringing delicacies for the table from all parts of the world. Labat gives them credit, also, for excelling other nations in the preparation of delicious drink—'parceque s'étant fait une étude particulière de ce qui regarde une chose qui les touche de si près, ils ont acquis là-dessus des connoissances merveilleuses et d'une étendue infinie. As one of these discoveries, he communicates to his countrymen the receipt for making what he calls *salibolé*, which is, being interpreted, a syllabub. He describes punch, also; but the mixture to which he gives that name is altogether unlike the 'beloved beverage' of our fathers; for there was neither lime nor lemon juice in it; the proportions were two parts of spirit to one of water or of milk, and it was thickened with yolk of eggs to the consistence of porridge. His own countrymen used to measure time, in their common speech, not by the clock, or the sun, or, as in old books, by the hour of prayers, but by *cau-de-vie* time, and chocolate time; and distance they estimated as the Dutch used to flog their slaves—by pipes of tobacco. He speaks of corking wine as if the practice were new to him and his countrymen. The English had also taught the French to mix eggs and Madeira with their chocolate; a mode of preparation which induced Labat to maintain, contrary to the prevailing practice and opinion, that chocolate was not allowable on the meagre days, and that no one could take it without breaking his fast.

Labat may be suspected of opining upon this point according to his taste, inasmuch as he made no scruple of eating upon fast days the bird which the French call *Diable* or *Diablotin*, from its colour and its nocturnal habits. These devilets are of the size of a full-grown pullet, and when dressed as the friar tells you they should be, they were dainty food. The *Sieur Thuillier*, a merchant captain, who had settled at Guadaloupe, and whom Labat describes as '*bon Huguenot, homme de bien et fort sage*,' used to rally him upon this subject—which he might safely do there, and with perfect confidence, knowing the man. They had eaten these birds together, and *Thuillier* insisted that the Romanists could not consistently regard it as a crime in the Protestants to eat meat every day without distinction, when they made no scruple themselves of dining upon devilets even in Lent. To this the friar replied, 'that the ecclesiastical superior in the islands had after consultation with physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries, decided that these birds were *viandes maigres*, not properly flesh, but partaking of fish nature; and, therefore, food for fast days, which might be eaten with a safe conscience.' This did not satisfy the Huguenot—
—'Birds,

—‘Birds, (he said,) which paired, laid eggs, sat upon their eggs, and hatched them, were certainly not fish; it could not be more allowable to eat them as meagre food, than on the same pretext to dine upon goose, duck, widgeon, teal, and other birds of this class, who were far more aquatic in their habits; for, though the devils preyed upon fish, they lived in dry places, burrowing in the ground.’ ‘But (said Labat) they are more fishy in smell and flavour than the birds you mention, and, therefore, they ought to be classed among fish.’ ‘Nay, (replied the Huguenot) that proceeds entirely from their food, and they are not to be deemed fish because they resent of their diet. For, if we reason thus, look at the consequences. There are the Friar Minims, who feed upon fish and oil, never touching flesh; their skins are continually covered with a fishy and unctuous excretion; the older they grow, and the less care they take to keep themselves clean, the stronger do they smell of fish; yet I am sure you would argue vehemently against my conclusion, were I to insist that the friars are actually fish, and ought to be accounted so.’ Labat was then driven to take the Solan goose for an argument; but his antagonist, though he also believed what was then the received notion of their vegetable origin, insists that the Barnacle was neither fish, flesh, nor fowl, but a certain sport of nature. And the merry Dominican, laughing at the weakness of his own cause, continued to eat devilets on fast days, and no doubt to take care that they were dressed according to rule—the organ of cookery being magnificently developed upon his shaven and shorn head.

Labat, who observed everything, witnessed a fact relating to electricity, which is remarkable enough to be noticed here. There were about twenty pounds of gunpowder in his chamber, in several packets of paper, and in each of these packets, the powder, during a violent thunder-storm which broke over the convent, and did considerable damage to the building, was formed into a mass, such, he says, as might be made of pounded charcoal and gum-water. It was like a black stone, dry, hard, not easily broken, retaining very little smell of sulphur, and not kindling more readily than a lump of furnace-coal.

Even in the lifetime of Columbus, the evil which in our own days has been experienced in St. Domingo, was apprehended by the Spaniards, from the multiplication of the negroes. A like evil was feared from the multiplication of mulattos in Du Tertre’s time; and the dreadful tragedies, of which St. Domingo has been the scene, may be traced for one of its causes to an edict which was issued by Louis XIV. in the vain intent of checking the growth of the mixed race. At first, by the law or custom of the French islands, mulattos became free at the age of twenty-four,

four, provided they had continued till that age to live with the owner of the mother; the service of the last eight years being deemed an adequate return for their support in infancy and childhood. The human principle of the civil law, that *partus sequitur ventrem*, was now perverted to an inhuman end; a fine of two thousand pounds of sugar was exacted from any person upon whom a mulatto child should be filiated; and if he were the proprietor of the negress, in addition to that fine, he forfeited both mother and child, who were thereby escheated to the hospital, and not to be redeemed from that slavery. Labat, who relates the tragic, as well as some comic, consequences of such an edict, was too sagacious a man not to perceive its gross impolicy; but he touches lightly on the subject, and that too in his character of missionary, as if he thought some apology was necessary for the freedom of his remarks. He had known but two instances of marriage between white men and negresses; the one appears to have been forced upon a scrupulous man by an injudicious priest, under most improper circumstances, and it ended accordingly; the other was the effect of choice, gratitude, and a sense of duty. Had Labat allowed himself to pursue the subject, he would have seen that in those regions the only proper course of policy was indicated by the course of nature; that in the mixed breed, the European mind is engrafted upon the African constitution; and that if the French government had understood its own interest, it should have encouraged the growth of that race, capable by nature, as they are, of labouring under a tropical sky, and educated, as they might, and ought to have been, in those artificial wants, which are the wholesome and needful incentives to industry, and in those moral and religious principles, which are the only safeguard of society. Upon this subject and others connected with it, the author of this Chronological History manifests a strong feeling.

In the annals of the last century, military and naval operations occupy a large space; they are melancholy details of lives sacrificed by thousands to a fatal climate, and of expeditions, producing nothing but evil in their course, and with no other consequence in their results than that of making conquests, which at the next general peace were to be restored. If France and England had agreed at Utrecht or at Nimeguen upon a neutrality for these unfortunate islands, the fate of future wars would not have been in the slightest degree influenced by it—neither power would at this day have been in a worse condition, and all the intermediate expense to both countries, and all the misery to the colonies of both, might have been spared. A veteran statesman, who was himself distinguished for his capacity, once sadly remarked by how little wisdom the political affairs of the world were directed. It would be

be as mournful, as it is humiliating, to reflect by how little, even of that little, much of the evil that is under the sun, might have been averted, if there were not some consolation in the hope, that the days which speak will at length be heard, and the multitude of years bring wisdom.

New colonies are now rising in the remotest part of the world ; and under whatever form of government they may settle when the foundations are firmly laid, the language, at least, of England will be retained there. Great Britain, which may truly be called the hive of nations, is sending, and must continue to send, forth its swarms. Do what we will at home ; (our readers know that we entirely agree with Mr. Sadler—as in other momentous points—so also in the opinion, that there is much which may and ought to be done in providing employment for the able and industrious ;) let what may be done, new countries will always offer an inviting field for hope and enterprise ; and it is desirable that hope and enterprise should take that direction. Reasonable apprehensions must be felt concerning the future character of society in these colonies if they are to be formed only with the worst materials,—the refuse of the parent state,—its criminals, its runaways, and its paupers. Nor is the evil, which may be looked for from this cause, to be counteracted by the temporary abode of persons who go thither to pursue their commercial speculations, meaning to return to England with the fortune which they may accumulate. The best colonists are those who are influenced by the best motives ; who go with the intent of taking up their final abode in a new country, because they can there secure a certain independence in all respectability and comfort for their children to the third and fourth generation. To such a course, the settlers in New England were led by a principle of religious zeal ; and the contrast which New England at this day presents to the new States of the American Union, and to all colonies which have been founded either by conquerors or mere traders, may teach us that as the root is, so will the tree prove.

There are some things in which our Australian colonies have an advantage over all others in their beginning. The natives are so few that any danger arising from them is too trifling to be taken into the account of inconveniences ; our right in the land is that of occupancy, not of conquest. It is an open country—man has only to break the ground, not to clear it. It is a good climate, perhaps the best that could be named, though not as sanguine men were at one time ready from our short experience to infer, exempted from all febrile diseases : within these two years, it has suffered from what may be called a pestilence : still, in no other country, have new settlers been so free from sickness. The curse
of

of slavery has not been carried thither, and at so great a distance from Europe, it may be hoped, that the evil of our wars will not be felt there. New England suffered severely from that cause. Founded upon better principles than any colonies, some of the American states alone excepted, and in a better age than those, it may be hoped that, after the expiration of three centuries, the annals of Australia may be more honourable to religion and human nature than those of the West Indies have proved during an equal course of time ; that it may be the task of the annalist, instead of relating a melancholy series of crimes and sufferings, the desperate achievements of wicked men in guilty enterprises, or the unproductive exertions of honourable courage in lawful wars, to record the uninterrupted progress of improvement among a peaceful and happy people.
